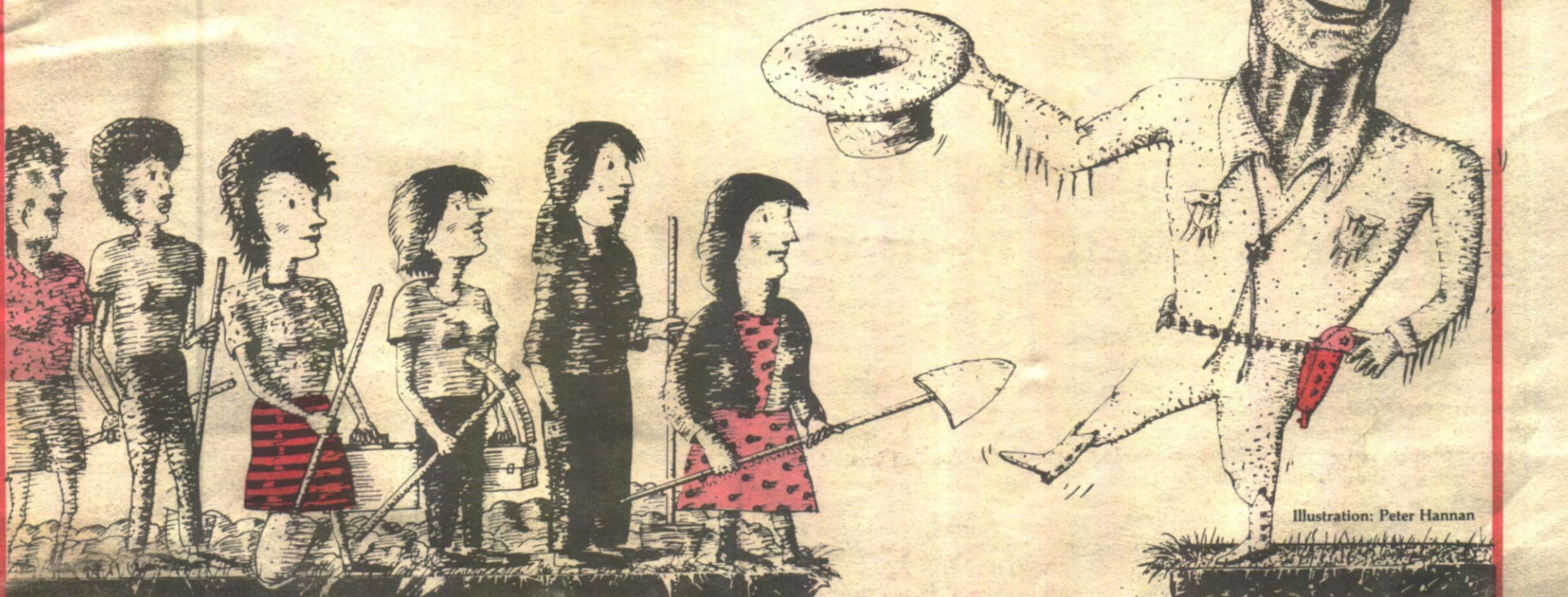


Will Reagan fall



into
the
gap?

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Why the Iraqis want to broaden the war and the Iranians want to limit it

By Fred Halliday

The dramatic escalation in the three-and-a-half-year-old Gulf war between Iran and Iraq is the result of a significant change in the military balance there. Both countries have long been trying to prevent each other from exporting oil, the main and almost sole source of their foreign exchange. For some time Iran has stopped Iraq from exporting its oil. But other Arab producers, notably Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the Emirates, have provided Iraq with revenue to make up the gap.

Although Iraq announced in August 1982 that it would blockade Iran's oil exports, it has only recently begun to do so. Since the end of April, Iran's oil loading facility at Kharg Island has been seriously threatened, reducing Iran's oil exports from 1.8 million barrels a day to less than 800,000 barrels. That is the cause of the upsurge in naval war. Iran is hitting back at Iraq by trying to intimidate Iraq's Arab supporters. It wants to force them either to get Iraq to end the blockade, or to stop financing Iraq's war effort.

Thus, the two belligerent states have opposite interests. Iraq wants to broaden the war, to bring in as many countries as it can on its side, to compensate for its financial and military weakness. The Iraqis, though staunch proclaimers of an "anti-imperialist" line, would be happy to get the Americans on their side, and they must be hoping that the Iranians will get into a fight with Ronald Reagan.

The Iranians want to limit the war to themselves and the Iraqis. They have the upper hand in the land war that will decide the conflict. They can conduct their campaign as they wish, ignoring the appeals to suspend hostilities, as long as their oil exports continue to bring in the money that's needed to buy the necessary weapons, food and other necessities. Their view is that as long as they have to fight Iraq on their own, their "blasphemy-crushing" forces can do the job. They want victory, and they think that with time they will get it.

Recent diplomatic moves over the Gulf war do not alter these underlying factors. Syria's mediation attempt is really no such thing: Syria and Iran share a common goal, the fall of the Iraqi regime, and so it is happy to present itself as favoring a restriction of fighting. Syria may also benefit by appearing to be negotiating with Iran, since much of Syria's own revenues also come from the Arab oil states. Iran will continue to take no notice of UN and Non-Aligned Movement resolutions and appeals, not least because the international community did so little when Iraq invaded in 1980.

There are, in fact, only two ways that Iran can be stopped, and neither is likely to occur in the near future. One is a complete and sustained stoppage of Iranian oil exports. The Iraqi military pressure on Kharg Island is designed to achieve this, but Iranian counter-measures, against Iraq's allies or in a new land offensive, are designed to ease the situation. An international boycott of Iranian oil—something the major companies successfully organized after the Mosadeq government's oil nationalization in the early '50s—would be difficult to enforce now, given the proliferation of independent traders and producers. And even if Iranian oil were blocked for several months, Iran might be able to build a pipeline to transport it to the USSR. There is virtually no chance of the Russians participating in such a blockade move.

The other way to stop Iran is to tip the military balance significantly in Iraq's favor. Several countries have been trying to do this. The Russians are supplying large quantities of arms to Iraq, with whom they have long-standing military links. And since late last year, the U.S. has been providing intelligence on Iranian troop dispositions and encouraging its Arab allies to help Iraq.

France and Britain are also providing military support to Iraq. But in itself this probably won't be enough. The looming question is what the West or the Russians will do in the event of a major Iranian advance on land. The U.S. has indicated that it would be willing to provide air support for Iraq, but it is doubtful that

American public opinion would support this. And a major commitment of U.S. ground forces is almost inconceivable. No one is capable and prepared to do what may be required to keep the Iraqi regime in power.

The one recent military response came from Saudi Arabia, which now says it is willing to fly protective cover over Gulf shipping. But the Saudis cannot do much: they have F-15 planes, but they have few of their own pilots, and the majority of their air force personnel are Pakistanis who would be unlikely to go to war with Iran. The Gulf Cooperation Council of six Arab oil-producing monarchies is even less of a serious military force, not least because it has no real internal coordination, except on matters of internal security. So fragmented are these countries that one of the GCC members, the United Arab Emirates, has in its 13 years of existence failed to produce a unified army for its own different sheikdoms.

The American offer of help makes military sense—a substantial American force in the area could certainly fend off Iranian attacks on tankers—but it rests on dubious political logic. Ever since Carter proclaimed his doctrine in January 1980, the U.S. has been committed to defending shipping in the Gulf, and Reagan sees this as a test of American will. But he also knows that such ventures are not popular, especially as the U.S. obtains only 4 percent of its oil supplies from the Persian Gulf. He may see the need to "face up to" the Soviet Union, and flex American muscle in front of

THE STORY INSIDER

insubordinate Europeans and Japanese. But as the ignominious American departure from Lebanon demonstrated—after endless and solemn pronouncements of American determination to stay—there is an enormous gap between the image the Reagan administration would like to project and what it can actually do. After Beirut, politicians in the Gulf are particularly reluctant to invite the U.S. in, and they also remember that the last American military venture in the Gulf, the attempt to rescue the hostages in Iran in April 1980, ended in tragedy and failure.

Another reason advanced for Western reluctance to act is fear of what the Russians might do. The Russian position is clear: the West is entitled to guaranteed supplies of oil, but it is not entitled to send military forces to the Gulf. The U.S. in particular has no business deploying forces there, when it gets so little of its oil from the area. In Russian eyes, the U.S. task force and AWACS planes are using the Iran-Iraq war as a pretext to increase their military presence in an area near the Soviet frontier. Moscow has been against the Iran-Iraq war from the beginning, precisely because it sees the war as legitimizing such "imperialist provocations."

Nevertheless, it is extremely unlikely that the USSR would take military action if the West sent troops into the Gulf. But Moscow would never assent to such a move because of the overall low level of East-West relations. Only if the U.S. took action on Iranian territory, designed to alter the political complexion of the Iranian government itself, would Moscow respond. Thus the real problem the U.S. faces in the Gulf is power and the fact that its Arab allies are reluctant to see it intervene.

Fred Halliday's latest book is *THE MAKING OF THE SECOND COLD WAR*.

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A disenchanted Spanish left must now start from scratch

By Diana Johnstone

This is the second in a series of articles about Spain.

M A D R I D

WHEN HE WON HIS SWEEPING electoral victory a year and a half ago, Felipe Gonzalez was in many ways the most promising of the Socialist leaders who have come to office in southern Europe in the last few years. Nobody expected miracles. In economic policy, Gonzalez had promised very little, and everyone realized that reforms must be carried out cautiously so as not to provoke the military wild men into a coup. But the left hoped that Gonzalez would at least cut a fresh figure in international affairs, favoring the Third World and opposing the nuclear arms race.

Today, however, most people on the left would agree with the president of the Association for Human Rights, Jose Mohamedano, who says that "there is no substantial difference between the Socialists in office and the Centrists who preceded them. The Socialists in office are applying the old Machiavellian principle: express one opinion in the street and another in the palace."

NATO is a case in point. When Gonzalez was elected prime minister in October 1982, people believed he opposed Spain's membership in NATO. The referendum that he promised on the issue was understood as a way to get Spain out. But it has gradually become clear that Gonzalez means to keep Spain in NATO and use the referendum for a propaganda campaign to bring Spanish public opinion around to approving NATO membership.

Spain's original support for Nicaragua's Sandinista government has evaporated. The pretext? An alleged connection between Sandinistas and Basque terrorists that has earmarks of a possible CIA frame-up. Last year Costa Rica announced it had captured two Basque terrorists who claimed they had come from Spain to assassinate anti-Sandinista leader Eden Pastora. Then, Madrid said it had information about ETA (the Basque separatist organization) training camps in Nicaragua. Managua swore to Spain that it had no connections with ETA. But Spain soon cancelled its aid to Nicaragua. Currently all contacts have ceased between Nicaraguan representatives in Spain and the Gonzalez government.

In the largely demoralized Spanish left, nobody seems to dislike Gonzalez or to blame him personally. The lessons being drawn by politically conscious people are that the existing institutions of power are basically uninhabitable by genuine left leaders, that they are governed in fact by invisible powers who make major decisions and manipulate the mass media, and that the Spanish left must be rebuilt from scratch—from the grassroots up.

With the Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) enmeshed in *realpolitik*, the Communist Party (PCE) in a state of collapse and the labor movement weakened by recession, the main place for the grassroots to grow is the peace movement. This year's peace campaign, which climaxed with a big June 2 demonstration in Madrid, centered on the demand for a "clear" referendum on NATO; dismantling U.S. bases was a secondary theme. The Spanish peace movement has developed around the NATO issue in part because it seems the safest way to express widespread anti-militarist feelings without angering Spain's dangerously touchy armed forces.

The Communist Party has been severely bled by its factional strife. (Official



Julio Anguita is the Spanish Communist Party's one striking success.

membership is currently 84,000.) Former members wander about the political landscape exchanging explanations of what went wrong. Former general secretary Santiago Carrillo is often blamed for his incapacity to practice what he preached and overcome his authoritarian habits.

But there are deeper historical factors. Before the Civil War, the Communist Party was a minor political force in Spain. International support and its capacity to maintain a clandestine organization despite repression made the party a leader of the democratic struggle against fascism. Since the restoration of political freedoms, it has lost sight of its original goal without defining another. Taking state power, the traditional bolshevik goal, now seems not only impossible but also undesirable in a country where left movement is centrifugal, away from the central power.

At its last congress, the only thing the PCE's factions could agree on was to let Julio Anguita preside. The 42-year-old mayor of Cordoba, Anguita is the Communist Party's one striking success. While the PCE was elsewhere being reduced to a fringe group, Anguita's team of young Communists won a large absolute majority in Cordoba's second democratic municipal elections in May 1983, making it the largest city in Spain with a Communist mayor.

Next year Cordoba will celebrate the anniversary of the medieval Jewish philosopher Maimonides, who lived there when the city was the capital of Islamic Spain, with a thriving Jewish community. It will also host the Second International Conference of Nuclear-Free Zones. Cordoba is one of 47 Spanish municipalities that last year declared themselves "nuclear-free," off limits to any nuclear arms manufacture, storage, transport or encouragement.

The Cordoba Communist Party attributes its unusual success to neighborhood organizing (the associations of *vecinos*), to the weakness of the Socialist Workers Party, to its success in appealing to the professional middle classes and to Anguita's personality. He has a style of his

own, blending strong words with personal seductiveness. While his fellow Andalusian charmer Felipe Gonzalez cultivates "realism" and ambiguity, Anguita practices frankness and defends idealism.

No more socialist utopia.

"All the socialist parties in the world are uncertain," he said in an interview in town hall while he was signing official papers. "They have lost their utopia. They are even ashamed to mention socialism. It is indispensable to recover utopia. Utopia is not a dream but the

The lessons being drawn by politically conscious leaders are that the existing institutions are basically uninhabitable by genuine left leaders.

drive behind.

For better or ill, Spain is a very real place. The problems are important. Now there is a very mild, soothing image of Gonzalez in Madrid, sweet smile, that all problems have been solved. There is no conflict and everything has been worked out. That is an unreal image. But the population likes those images. It is necessary to introduce conflict into the soul of the people."

There is no way to solve unemployment in the existing system, according to Anguita. Leaders in Madrid have no solutions. "They are all thinking the U.S. will bring the world out of the crisis thanks to arms manufacture," he said. "The day the U.S. will have solved the crisis that way, everyone will be dead. Our political leaders are not governing—they are monks and nuns praying and waiting for the holy ghost in the White House to save them."

A former teacher who got into politics "by accident," Anguita is, above all, didactic. "We have to wake people up by speaking to them in a very hard but very loving way. Day after day, in neighborhood associations, we have to wake people up."

Asked how he sees the future, Anguita responded. "Right now there is no future. But power is in the street. Everything is possible."

One of the mysteries of present-day Spain is what ever happened to the strong anarchist current, which seems to have vanished almost without a trace. But traces show up in the Communist Anguita and in the words of others who do not call themselves anarchists. "Institutions devour people," he said. He is using his time in office to "keep up the war against institutions," but foresees that in four years the institutions may get the better of him.

By offering to return a local mosque to Islam, the Communist mayor of Cordoba managed to provoke the local Catholic Archbishop into a polemic and make headlines throughout the Arab world. "It showed that Spaniards are not for religious war," said deputy mayor Herminio Trigo Aguilar. Anguita's lesson was that democracy means pluralism. And now that political pluralism has been restored to Spain, Cordoba wishes to recall its history of religious pluralism.

Some wonder whether Anguita's radical statements would go over so well if he were less handsome. In any case, he has many fans not only in Cordoba but all over Spain. His style departs not only from Stalinism but also from "Eurocommunism" as practiced by Carrillo, which turned into an exercise in "responsibility" and "moderation" that meant muting all ideals in the hope (now quite lost) of eventually sharing in the national government.

Labor activity.

The labor organization built in the last Franco years by the Communist Party, the *Comisiones Obreras* (Workers Commissions), is surviving better. It manages to hold its own alongside its Socialist counterpart, the General Workers Union (UGT). But political demobilization and deindustrialization have taken a heavy toll. At the first Workers Commissions congress in 1978, official membership was put at 1,820,907. Last year it was down to 377,905.

Officials say influence is actually greater, since the figures show only members whose dues reach the national office by haphazard collection methods. Still, unionization in Spain is clearly one of the lowest in Europe. Shop elections show the Workers Commissions neck and neck with the General Workers Union, which is not doing much better despite all-out support from Gonzalez' government and West German unions. And the old Anarcho-Syndicalist CNT is nowhere to be found.

Like the Communist Party, the Workers Commissions have discovered that the

Continued on page 6

A setback for vets

Vietnam veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange brought a class-action lawsuit against the U.S. government last week and were rebuffed, reports Jonathan Kalish. The suit—filed shortly after the veterans settled a class action against seven chemical companies that manufacture the herbicide (see *In These Times*, May 16)—charged the Veterans Administration (VA) with misdiagnosing and mistreating the vets. It also alleged that the Food and Drug Administration and the Public Health Service covered up information about the adverse health effects of dioxin, the highly toxic chemical that contaminated Agent Orange.

District Court Judge Jack Weinstein threw out the suit against the government because another judge had already rejected the veterans' efforts to sue the VA. Attorney Victor Yannacone, who started the Agent Orange suit in 1979, vowed to challenge Weinstein's ruling in the Second Circuit Court of Appeals. "In the settlement with the chemical companies, Judge Weinstein assured the veterans that they had a claim against the government," Yannacone told a crowd of reporters and veterans in the lobby of the federal court in Brooklyn after the ruling. "He has now decided that they don't have a claim against the government. Unless the veterans can sue the government for damages and health benefits, there is no way the \$180 million settlement with the chemical companies is remotely adequate." Yannacone served as lead counsel for the vets until last fall when he was replaced by a group of court-appointed lawyers who negotiated the \$180 million settlement. He has threatened to challenge the settlement at a series of fairness hearings scheduled for five major cities in August.

One man's terrorist...

President Reagan's drive to stamp out terrorism of the First World variety—those U.S. groups who support administration-designated "terrorists" by giving them aid—inched its way into the House and Senate chambers last week. Two companion bills, H.R. 5613 and S. 2626, are part of a terrorist prevention package that includes legislation that stiffens the penalties for kidnapping and hijacking and doles out rewards to informers. The support bill is the most controversial of the package: it would penalize Americans who "train, support or induce terrorism" with a fine of \$100,000 or 10 years in jail. Given the murkiness of the definition of terrorist and the unwillingness on the part of Congress to give the secretary of state the sole power to deem groups terrorist, neither the House nor the Senate is expected to buy the legislation as is.

However, groups concerned with civil liberties for U.S. supporters of controversial causes—notably the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the National Lawyers Guild and the Campaign for Political Rights (CPR)—are still keeping a close watch on the bills. For them, the bills' power does not hinge on passage, but on the jaundiced judgment that the tag "friend of terrorists" will call up in the public mind. Sue Sullivan of the CPR notes that several groups—including CISPES, various Irish-American groups and sanctuary workers—are increasingly harassed by FBI agents who wish to know "where their money is going." The ADC and the CPR intend to squash Reagan's ideological gambit by distributing booklets clarifying the rights of support groups and the history of past anti-liberty practices. For more information contact: the American-Arab Discrimination League, 1731 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009, or the Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE, Room 316, Washington, DC 20002.

Tools for living

A federal jury in Syracuse, N.Y., heard testimony last week that seven antinuclear protesters were legally justified in damaging a B-52 bomber last November because of the "imminent" threat of nuclear war, reports Jonathan Rosenblum. Calling themselves the "Griffiss Plowshares Seven," the defendants said theirs is the first federal trial in which protesters charged with sabotage have been allowed to argue innocence on the basis of a justification defense.

The defendants admit to breaking into the Griffiss Air Force Base—the first deployment site for air-launched cruise missiles—last Thanksgiving morning and beating on a B-52 and several aircraft engines with hammers and crowbars. Witness Dr. Henry Abraham, a co-founder of Physicians for Social Responsibility, told the jury that the mere existence of nuclear weapons causes psychological numbing, personal trauma and depression. Cornell biologist Allen MacNeil described the recent nuclear winter study that predicts world-wide atmospheric and ecological catastrophe in the event of even a limited nuclear war. Rev. Daniel Berrigan, himself a participant in a 1980 Plowshares action, told how the seven drew inspiration from the biblical exhortation to "beat swords into plowshares." Several other witnesses, including former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, are slated to take the stand this week. If convicted, the seven could be imprisoned for 25 years and each fined \$30,000.

—Beth Maschinot



Raaside/ROTHCO

Congress weighs gas controls

CHICAGO—Election year pressures on Republicans and Democrats alike may finally yield relief from high prices for natural gas consumers this summer. There has been widespread dissatisfaction with the Natural Gas Policy Act of 1978 (NGPA), which removed price controls on various categories of gas either immediately or gradually. Although there is currently a surplus of gas, with much being withheld from the market, prices have risen more rapidly since the passage of the NGPA.

There has been little agreement, however, on the solution. The Reagan administration has pushed hard for accelerated elimination of price controls, but Congress has repeatedly rebuffed these efforts. Meanwhile, consumer pressure in many states has grown, and divisions within the industry have turned many pipeline companies and distributors against gas producers. Support has increased for improving and extending controls, including a rollback of price ceilings, such as proposed by Rep. Richard Gephardt (D-MO) in the Natural Gas Consumer Relief Act, which now has 157 sponsors in the House.

With disproportionate representation of gas-producing states on the House Energy and Commerce Committee, it has been difficult to approve legislation that maintains controls. This spring Rep. Philip Sharp (D-IN), working with a small group of Republicans from Midwest consumer states led by Rep. Edward Madigan (R-IL), devised a compromise that squeaked through the committee 22-20.

The Sharp-Madigan legisla-

tion restrains price increases for both old and newly discovered gas, reforms inflationary contract clauses, pressures pipelines to seek the lowest cost supplies and gives the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) limited authority to require pipelines to transport gas sold directly from producers to big users, such as utilities or factories.

After the NGPA was passed, many pipelines anticipated supply problems and bid up the price of new gas while accepting "take or pay" requirements that forced them to take nearly all gas for which they contracted or pay the producer. Pipelines also accepted automatic price escalators. When demand fell and supplies were plentiful, many pipelines, gas distributors and, above all, consumers protested these provisions. FERC allowed pipeline companies to pass along all costs, and consumers were not allowed to examine contracts to see if pipelines had sought the least expensive sources.

Under the partial decontrol legislation, initiated by the Carter administration, FERC raised gas ceilings by an annual rate equal to inflation plus 3.5 or 4 percent. But additional price hikes were granted as well. Now the price set for a major category of "new gas" that accounts for about 30 percent of all gas consumed is \$3.77 per thousand cubic feet—even though two government studies concluded that on the average new gas could be produced, with a profit, for no more than \$3. Controls on that new gas will be completely lifted next January 1, barring any new legislation (leaving a declining quantity of "old gas," slightly less

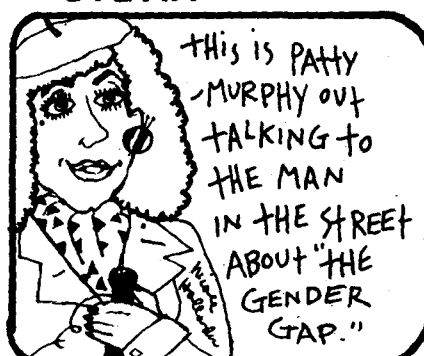
than half consumed in 1983, the only gas with price controls).

Although the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition (C/LEC), the major lobbying force on behalf of lower prices and extended controls, applauds most of the measures in the Sharp-Madigan bill, it does not think the legislation goes far enough. The bill does not extend controls on new gas. Also, it offers limited constraint on prices of deep gas with higher production costs—even though, as C/LEC researcher/organizer Ed Rothschild says, experience in recent years has shown that such deep wells hit gas more frequently and in much greater quantities than shallow wells, effectively reducing unit costs of production. The average gas-using family will pay \$200 more over the next three years without extensions of controls, C/LEC estimates; the Sharp-Madigan bill alone will cut that by half.

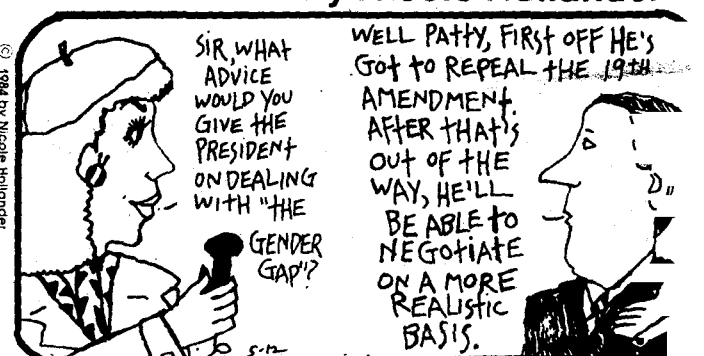
Amendments to the Sharp-Madigan bill will probably be offered from the House floor. C/LEC is pushing amendments offered by Rep. Gephardt that include the main features of his bill, extending controls and rolling back excessively high prices (to roughly \$3.26 per thousand cubic feet for the new gas now at \$3.77, for example). With consumer state representatives in the majority and elections coming this fall, the amendments—or at least the original Sharp-Madigan bill—have a good chance in the House. Even the Senate and the president may be forced to grant some consumer protection in this election year, despite their ideological antagonism.

—David Mober

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander



By Cecilio J. Morales Jr.

WASHINGTON

AFTER SIX MONTHS OF STALLING, Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill has agreed to bring proposed immigration reform legislation to the floor of the House of Representatives this week. As *In These Times* went to press, Rep. Don Edwards (D-CA) had sponsored a move for a meeting of the Democratic Caucus to give the members of the House a chance to table the controversial bill. Meanwhile, the members of the Rules Committee were reportedly working on the guidelines for a floor debate. The last-minute flurry of House activity on the Simpson-Mazzoli bill was no surprise: the bill has spawned divisions within the leadership of both parties, causing many to believe that it may be too hot to handle during this election year.

Introduced by Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-WY) and Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D-KY) more than two years ago, the "Immigration Reform and Control Act" (known as S.529 and H.R.1510) passed the Senate twice, but repeatedly failed to reach a vote in the House.

A minority alternative by Rep. Edward Roybal (D-CA), supported by the Black and Hispanic Congressional Caucuses, was proposed on February 22. But so far it has not gained the requisite committee hearing before reaching the full body's floor.

On May 18 the Democratic National Committee Platform Chairwoman Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D-NY) said she would rather see the bill delayed until after the November general election. Like Walter Mondale, who has made similar statements, Ferraro seems concerned about alienating voters.

The AFL-CIO staunchly supports the bill, primarily because it would fine employers who hire undocumented workers. According to labor lobbyist Jane O'Grady, "Undocumented aliens undercut wages for everybody."

Hispanics, on the other hand, lead minority groups that are fearful of employer sanctions. Arnold Torres, Washington director of the League of Latin American Citizens (LULAC), warned in testimony to Congress that the average American employer cannot tell the difference between legal and illegal aliens. Torres cited court testimony by Texas policemen indicating that "Mexican" U.S. citizens are routinely held on "investigative charges" until they can prove their citizenship.

Unfortunately for the Democrats, both groups form key elements of their electoral coalition.

On the Republican side, support for the bill runs strong among Capitol Hill "moderates," but is tepid at best in the White House. Senate debates and votes in 1982 and 1983 showed that the Republicans' center agrees with Simpson's "three legged" stool package: increased border enforcement and deportations, employer sanctions and—reluctantly—amnesty for undocumented aliens who've entered the country before 1982.

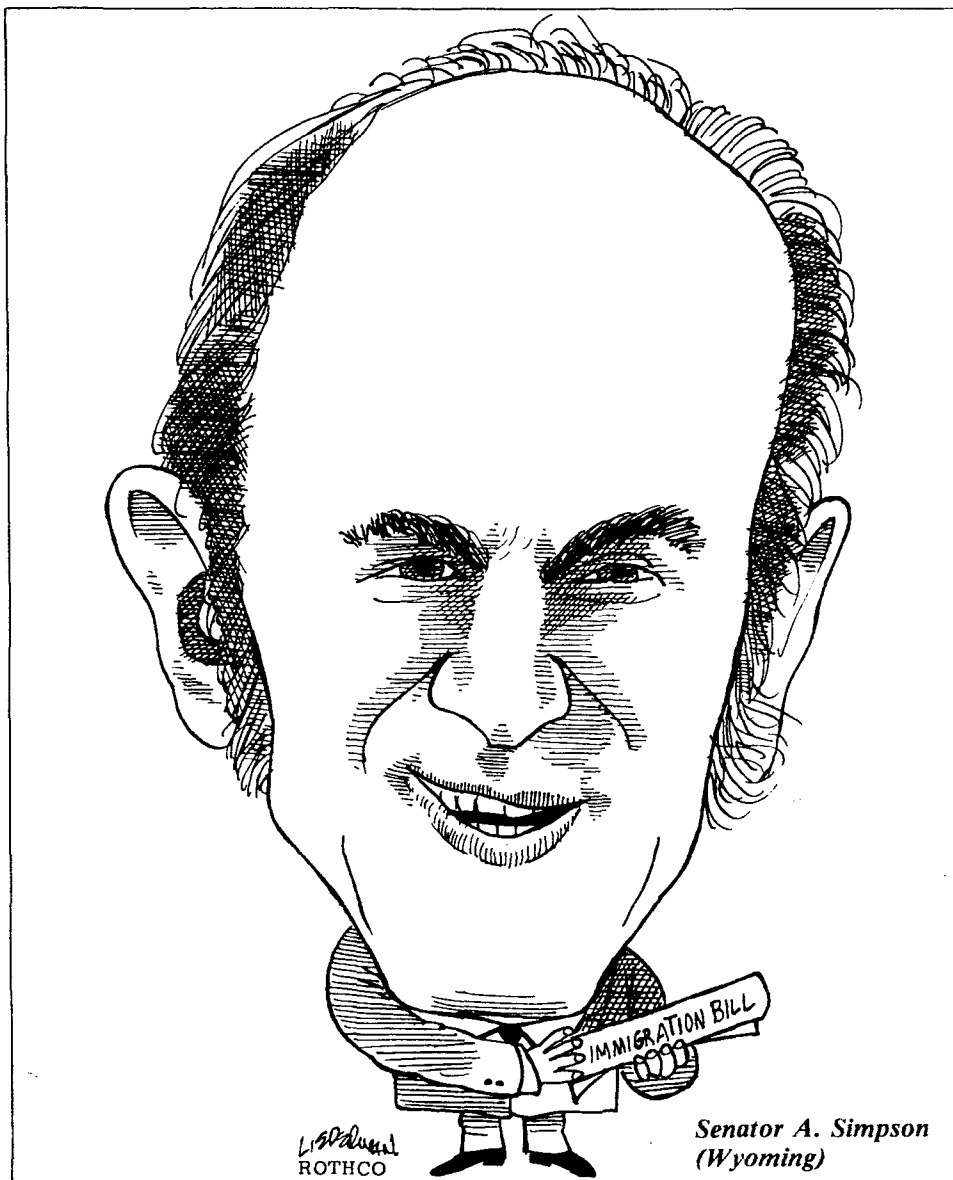
But while President Reagan has publicly supported the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, administration officials have moved to undercut legalization and toughen punitive measures. In January, Budget Director David Stockman released an estimate claiming that administration of amnesty alone would cost at least \$10 million—a calculation that one lobbyist later dubbed "supply-side for aliens."

"The problem with the bill is that as a package no one likes it, but there's no question of passing each pet piece by itself. The name itself is a compromise: to conservatives 'control' means restricting immigration, while to liberals 'reform' means keeping the door open," said an aide to a prominent liberal senator.

Last month, the strategy of a senatorial campaign waged by Rep. Kent Hance (D-TX) to gain the seat of retiring Sen. John Tower (R-TX) became a political test case for the immigration controversy. During the May 5 Texas primary, Hance rebounded from a sure also-ran third place to first by running an anti-amnesty cam-

CONGRESS

Simpson-Mazzoli too hot to handle?



Senator A. Simpson
(Wyoming)

paign in the last three weeks of the contest. Although he went on to lose to state Sen. Lloyd Doggett in a close run-off battle (that was being contested as *In These Times* went to press), Hance's warnings of a tidal wave of Mexicans if Simpson-

Mazzoli passed produced an 8 to 32 percent jump in popularity.

Shortly after the primary Majority Leader James Wright (D-TX) introduced an amendment that rolls back eligibility for legalization from aliens who entered

before 1982 to those who arrived in 1980.

The H-2 or temporary workers proposal has extended the political pressure points to California, another key electoral state. H-2, which increases the availability of usually underpaid foreign agricultural workers, has aroused the growers' greed and unions' outrage.

Rep. George Miller's (D-CA) amendment provides labor standards and grievance procedures modeled after the National Labor Relations Act for the temporary workers—who are currently not protected. But Reps. Leon E. Pannetta (D-CA) and Sid Morrison (R-WA), backed by National Democratic fundraiser Rep. Tony Coelho (D-CA), are offering an alternate amendment that is strongly opposed by the AFL-CIO.

According to Capitol Hill aides, the Hance experience in Texas fueled fears of a popular vote split right down the middle on the temporary workers issue in California. Led by Rep. Edwards, the California congressional delegation reportedly demanded that O'Neill postpone debate until after their state's June 5 primary.

Delays in Congress, while not novel on any issue during a presidential election year, have not managed to cool the political environment—particularly on the fringes of electoral politics to which minorities are still relegated. DNC Hispanic spokeswoman Polly Baca and San Antonio Mayor Henry Cisneros have sent O'Neill, Wright and other key leaders thinly veiled threats of a massive desertion of the Democratic Party if the Roybal bill does not come up in the House. And out on the hustings seeking the support of precisely such a constituency, Jesse Jackson, who supports Roybal, warned in El Paso, Texas, that the U.S. would "become like South Africa" if Simpson-Mazzoli passes.

But even Roybal appears to doubt the prospects for his alternative bill, which in contrast to Simpson-Mazzoli contains no sanctions and calls for the creation of a five-year commission to study the external factors leading to immigration to the U.S. "An amended Simpson-Mazzoli would be better than nothing," he said with resignation.

Cecilio J. Morales Jr. is the assistant editor of the Washington Report on the Hemisphere.

BERKELEY

Initiative divides the left

By Paul Glickman

BERKELEY, CA

A CONTROVERSIAL INITIATIVE calling for a reduction in U.S. aid to Israel went down to defeat here June 5, but the 59 percent to 43 percent margin left the measure's supporters claiming a moral victory.

Measure E called for a cutback in U.S. aid to Israel equal to what Israel spends annually on its settlements in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights. It was written by Taxpayers for Peace in the Middle East (TAPME), an ad-hoc coalition of Jewish and Arab activists. TAPME argued that the more than \$2 billion in U.S. aid sent to Israel each year allows that country to spend an estimated \$150 to \$600 million annually on its settlement program.

Among the many academics and activists supporting Measure E were Noam Chomsky, Seymour Melman, Joan Baez and the Berrigan brothers. But State Assemblyman Tom Hayden, San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley joined other local and state officials in opposing the resolution. Even Walter Mondale and Gary Hart denounced Measure E while campaigning in California.

Within Berkeley, many long-time allies found themselves at odds over the initia-

tive. While Mayor Gus Newport supported Measure E, several of his allies on the City Council opposed it. One of the city's largest and most effective left groups, Berkeley Citizens Action (BCA) remained neutral, its membership split sharply over the initiative.

Leftists in the Jewish community also split over Measure E. The International Jewish Peace Union, Jewish Women for a Secular Mideast, and many unaffiliated Jews supported the initiative. Mainstream Jewish organizations coordinated the formation of the Coalition for Middle East Peace and Justice, which sponsored the "NO on E" campaign.

The local chapter of the New Jewish Agenda, which strongly opposes the settlements, remained neutral. Agenda members turned up on both sides of the issue, and the national leadership prohibited the chapter from taking a stand because Agenda's national council had not discussed the question of reducing aid to Israel.

The Coalition charged repeatedly during the campaign that TAPME was unfairly singling Israel out for criticism, and that it was a "front" for the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (AADC). Coalition chair Ed Epstein alleged that "Arab groups" were pouring large amounts of money into the "YES on E" campaign.

The AADC did support TAPME, but "YES on E" raised less than \$20,000,

mostly from individual contributors. The Coalition, on the other hand, raised almost \$100,000 to defeat Measure E (the most ever in a Berkeley campaign).

Some critics opposed the initiative because it divided the left. Measure E opponent Lee Marsh, president of the Berkeley Jewish Community Center, said those on the left who supported the initiative did so because of the left's "historic insensitivity" toward Israel and Jewish survival. He considered Jews who voted for the resolution to be "completely out of touch with 90 percent of their fellow Jews."

Former Berkeley City Councilmember Florence MacDonald, who endorsed E, rejected Marsh's arguments. "The disagreement within the progressive community over Israel has always been there," she argued.

City Councilmember and BCA member John Denton said the battle over Measure E obscured the fight to elect a pro-tenant slate to the local rent board. TAPME's treasurer James Schamus said this is "a fake argument." He characterized the split within the left as "wonderful, because it forced the voters to make up their own minds."

But the "NO on E" forces strongly disagreed. Marsh said he believes some of TAPME's Jewish supporters "really hate Israel," and he speculated that some of them suffered from "internalized anti-

Continued on following page

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Semitism."

While rejecting the anti-Semitism charge, TAPME responded that the Coalition was "Arab-baiting" Measure E. "All along they've been talking about some shadowy Arab conspiracy lurking behind TAPME," said Schamus. He added that the "YES on E" campaign was "historic" because Jews and Arabs with a common vision of peace in the Middle East were working together.

While Measure E created some new alliances, it temporarily disrupted others. "It will be a task to mend fences," admitted MacDonald. But Marsh saw a positive aspect to the "NO on E" campaign. "A number of black political leaders opposed E," he said, "and that could lead to an improvement in relations between blacks and Jews in the Bay Area."

Regardless of Measure E's merits, the left in other cities may soon be confronted with similar initiatives. Bolstered by their

strong showing in Berkeley, some TAPME members are trying to form a national coalition to continue educating the U.S. public about Israel's settlement policy.

Paul Glickman is a Bay Area free-lance writer.

Spain

Eurocommunist policy of unity with the Socialists leads nowhere, because the Socialist Workers Party and the General Workers Union have no reason to accept unity with Communists. The third national congress of the Workers Commissions will be held in Madrid June 21-24, and the toughest issue will be what attitude to take toward the government, which has adopted the usual austerity policies.

"It is very hard for us to oppose a So-

cialist government," a Workers Commissions official said. "But the government does not want to deal with us." Socialist efforts to promote the General Workers Union involve ignoring and isolating the Workers Commissions as much as possible.

The labor organization also suffers from international isolation, since its application to join the European Trade Union Confederation has been blocked for more than five years by the General Workers Union, backed by "the Germans and the Socialist International." This seems especially unfair since the Workers Commissions has always been an ardent champion of West European unity.

The Workers Commissions favors Spain's entry into the Common Market even though "we know we are going to suffer." According to the terms being laid down, Spain's vulnerable, protected industry is to be integrated into the Common Market in only three or four years, whereas Spain's competitive agriculture will have to wait something like 10 years and free movement of workers will take seven years. "So we will get the bad effects right away, but the benefits will only come later." Still, the Spaniards' desire to join Europe is a matter of principle: "We must get together with our natural partners to solve problems we have in common."

The discussion document for the Workers Commissions congress notes that, what with the convergence of the longest and deepest cyclical capitalist crisis with a

scientific-technological revolution and a world financial breakdown, "humanity is today submerged in a generalized supercrisis." Application of "neo-liberal" remedies is pushing toward ever "more authoritarian, less democratic, more inhuman" solutions. The Workers Commissions agrees that it is essential to develop peace and ecology movements. It calls for the "participation of social forces" in "democratic planning" of a reindustrialization project closely bound to reconversion.

The organization's document warns against the danger of considering the arms industry a sector "with a future" because the high profit rate makes it especially attractive to investors.

Officially, Spain seems to have bought the U.S.-propagated idea that arms production is the narrow gate leading to a modern economy based on sophisticated technology. Defense Minister Narcis Serra has been rather desperately trying to convince the Pentagon—or the Spanish public, or himself—that Spain may get in on modern arms manufacture through some sort of technological cooperation with the U.S., the "two-way street" vainly sought by all the European allies.

In fact, Spain has long been and continues to be a top customer for U.S. arms exports in a very "one-way street." Thirty years ago, Franco was willing to pay a high price to get Spain out of its political isolation. His treaties with the U.S. granted unsupervised use of bases in Spain without even a promise to defend Spain in case of attack. Spanish-American military cooperation treaties have all included large sums of "aid," meaning credits to buy American-made military equipment. By such sales, which are essential to making unit costs tolerable in the U.S., Spain has long made a major contribution to subsidizing the expanding U.S. arms industry.

Gonzales came to office promising a "European solution" to Spain's planned air force modernization. The Germans had been lobbying hard for the Tornado fighter plane, built by a German-Italian-British consortium. The American lobby had evidently won the hearts and minds of the Spanish air force, however, and last year Gonzalez announced that Spain would buy 72 American-built McDonnell Douglas F-18a fighter planes for more than \$2.6 billion. Thus, under pressure from its own armed forces, Spain continues to subsidize the American military-industrial complex. The Spanish arms industry makes unsophisticated weapons for the Third World and Arab trade.

New direction.

In a garden in Seville, I talked with Maria Eugenia, who has studied political science while earning her living at nursing. For the past couple of years she has been active in "Women for Peace." She is convinced that women's culture, like all peaceful cultures, must be developed to counter the dominant militaristic culture that has brought us to an absolute dead end. "There is no more social progress in this direction, but only involution," she said. This was a recurring theme in my political conversations in Spain.

But Eugenia had gone farther than others in seeking a new direction. She has been to England to study CAITS: the Center of Alternative Industrial and Technical Systems. Local municipal governments and polytechnical universities get together with trade unions and citizens associations to work out industrial projects that meet human needs.

Eugenia is inspired: she believes that this is the only way. Spain's present situation seems to favor this development: the massive unemployment, the left-governed denuclearized municipalities, the demonstrated incapacity of any central government to stop the current social involution, and Spain's tradition of an-archo-syndicalism, invisible but somewhere in the collective conscience.

"Central political power is powerless today," she stressed. "The pressures at the top are too great. Change must grow up from the grassroots." Many people I talked with believe this, but Maria Eugenia is the only one with a clear idea of how it might happen.

REAGAN AND WOMAN

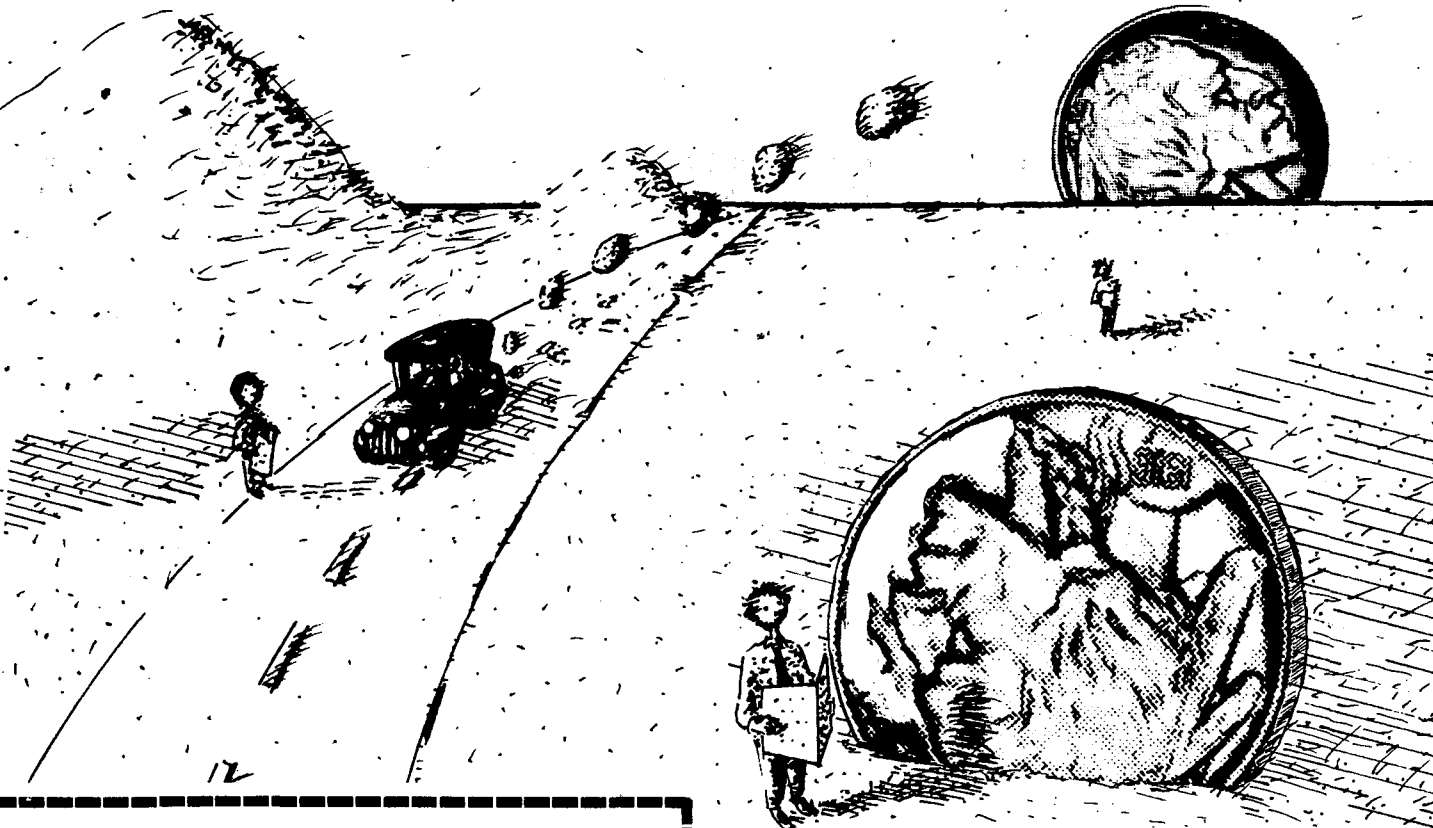
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GENDER GAP

An In These Times Special Report



BY JOAN WALSH

THE GOOD NEWS FOR THOSE who would retire Ronald Reagan in November is that the gender gap is holding steady, with 10 percent fewer women than men approving of Reagan's performance as president. Persistent throughout his tenure, the gap has come to be considered a permanent fixture of the Reagan presidency by pollsters and political analysts. "It's lasted three and a half years; there's no reason to expect it to go away," concludes CBS News/*New York Times* survey director Kathleen Francovic, an early gender gap analyst.

The bad news is that Reagan's stock is climbing among all voters, women included. The number of women approving of his job, which sank to just more than a third last summer, is hovering around 50 percent now in the major polls. If the trend persists until November, the gender gap will be important statistically, but less so electorally—Reagan will get less support from women than men, but he will win.

Uncharted political territory lies between here and November, however, with

the most important unknown being whom Reagan will run against and how the nominee will get out a big vote. But Reagan's ups and downs with women, though politically alarming to his opponents, are at least revealing something about the mysterious gender gap and women's vote—and that can only help those who hope to use it to reshape the country's deformed politics, in 1984 and after.

This special issue of *In These Times* examines the range of opinion about the importance of the women's vote, from Democratic Party inner circles to Reagan campaign strategists to the democratic left. The diverse perspectives are united by a belief that women's new voting independence, which emerged in the 1980 election, is a social and political development of lasting importance, whatever its impact this November.

Lessons for Democrats.

Two significant lessons can be learned from Reagan's partial rehabilitation in the eyes of women, one general and one partisan. The first is the primacy of economic issues in determining women's political opinions. While women's approval of Reagan's foreign policy has stayed below 40 percent—more than half the women contacted in the most recent CBS/*New York Times* poll were convinced he would lead the country into war in Central America—his general approval rating has climbed in step with approval of his economic program. Pollsters still find single, working women persistently critical of Reagan, bolstering an interpretation of the gender gap as a "reality gap," a measure of women's new economic independence and vulnerability (*In These Times*, Nov. 16, 1983).

In partisan terms, the gap's enduring significance has been women's increased identification with the Democratic Party. But Reagan's improved standing with women, especially matched against his likely opponents, indicates that potential Democratic women voters are subject to the same forces that attract or repel the Democratic constituency at large. Women are divided by the fissures that have opened during the primary battle—

between Mondale's labor and traditional New Deal Democrats and Hart's younger, upwardly mobile, non-aligned supporters; between Jackson's coalition of blacks, the poor and the disenfranchised and the rest of the party.

But if their rising support for Reagan "makes it difficult for Democrats to argue there's a bloc vote among women," as William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institute contends, their increased importance within the party can't be refuted.

Consider their participation in the Democratic primaries, where women are outvoting men in most states. According to ABC exit polls, women made up 57 percent of the primary vote in Texas and Georgia; in Illinois, 55 percent; in New York, 54 percent. (By contrast, in the poorly attended Republican primaries, where presumably only diehards vote, men have slightly outnumbered women, with two extreme imbalances: Alabama and Rhode Island, where men outvoted women 65 to 35 percent.)

So, though they may not vote monolithically, women are the Democrats' majority constituency. And they figure prominently in the numbers games played by the Democratic leadership as November approaches. Democratic National Committee political director Ann Lewis rests her hopes on the party's ability to register 13.5 million new voters, jumping turnout from 1980's 86.5 million to 100 million (a figure many analysts consider unrealistic).

More than half of those new voters, she believes, will come from the 31 million unregistered women—and most of those new women voters will be anti-Reagan. In addition, Lewis believes the Democrats can reverse Reagan's slight 1980 advantage with already registered women, to give the Democrats an extra four million votes. With another four

million from the mainly liberal John Anderson vote (disproportionately composed of women), the party is back in power. The scenario also heavily depends on increasing the overwhelming Democratic and disproportionately female turnout from 1980's 35 percent to more than 50 percent—which will require help from Jesse Jackson.

Trickle-down strategies.

Getting women to vote in these numbers has occupied the political energy of Democratic and feminist leaders for more than a year. The range of explanations for the gender gap—women's antimilitarism, their compassion, economic self-interest or support for feminist goals—produced an array of strategies, many of them examined in depth in these pages. At the upper reaches of organized feminism, the emphasis has been on trickle-down approaches—galvanize feminist leaders and activists behind a candidate or cause, and they'll lead in women behind them.

• The National Organization for Women (NOW) put its main emphasis on allying, for better or worse, with Walter Mondale. The nation's largest feminist group, NOW reasoned that placing its imprimatur on one candidate could spur its members and supporters to work for him in primaries (which he was then considered sure to win) and the general election. But while the endorsement inspired many NOW chapters and leaders to enter the fray, it also divided women, as Rachel Gorlin reports (page 11).

Resentment from the Jackson camp—and his many black women supporters—was inevitable, since Jackson made a widely publicized pitch for the NOW nod

Continued on page 8

Nicole Hollander's cartoon is from *WOMEN'S VOICES: The Gender Gap Movie*, a 15-minute motivational film for use in voter registration, education and organizing around the gender gap. *WOMEN'S VOICES* will be available July 1 from Kartemquin Films, 1901 W. Wellington, Chicago, IL 60657.

Continued from preceding page

last November. NOW's rejection of Jackson only confirmed some black women's belief that the group is a white, middle-class organization, an image that many NOW leaders have diligently worked to change.

Hart's unpredicted success made it even easier to criticize NOW, since the once-unviable candidate had staked out women's issues as his own and has attracted some impressive feminist support. Hindsight, of course, is an unfair advantage in second-guessing the endorsement, but foresight might have sufficed to tell NOW leadership that feminists could have more leverage working with all enlightened candidates—and with each other—unencumbered by a premature endorsement.

• The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) chose that route, deciding to work with each campaign to win pledges of women appointees and most important, a woman vice president—a strategy, they argue, that will motivate women to vote in the likely absence of an inspiring presidential nominee. The caucus is well-organized and ubiquitous, running members as delegates behind all three candidates and currently polling every elected delegate for his or her attitude about a woman vice president and the rest of their agenda. By July, the caucus should have a sophisticated floor operation at the convention, linking feminists and their supporters.

Yet internal divisions within a women's caucus are not unthinkable, especially given Jackson's unresolved role in the party. In an interview (page 15), California Assemblywoman and Jackson supporter Maxine Waters predicts that minority women's bitterness about prominent white feminists' lack of support for Jackson's coalition could prevent a united women's bloc at the convention. While the NWPC's Alice Travis thinks the conflict stems from miscommunication, Waters' suggestion is evidence that women party leaders must cope with the same power dilemmas—Jackson's man-

date among blacks—that men face before they can unite Democrats behind a single nominee.

In a brokered convention, of course, an organized women's caucus could wield real clout. But with Mondale the likely nominee, the vice-presidency depends on forces beyond the caucus. Party leaders will continue to use traditional methods of evaluating potential running mates—first and foremost, geographic and political balance—and women will have to fit that context. And James Ridgeway (page 21) believes the possible women nominees have hurt their own cause by not pursuing the second spot more vigorously.

• Feminists have also placed a lot of emphasis on the importance of both parties supporting women for national and state offices, as a means of proving their commitment to women's rights and concerns and drawing women to the polls. Barbara Schuler (page 16) found that although more women are seeking House and Senate seats in 1984, their campaigns continue to be underfinanced and often "unwinnable."

Widening the electorate.

But all these strategies appeal mainly to self-conscious feminists who care about the numbers and influence of women in positions of leadership. This is an important cadre, whose ranks are swelling every day, but they alone won't elect a president. Even at the highest reaches of organized feminist and Democratic politics, there is an awareness that the party's best hope lies in attracting the support of a large number of the nation's 31 million unregistered female voters.

Democrats know that they have to widen the electorate beyond the 52 percent that participated in 1980 (which made Reagan president with 28 percent of the eligible vote). Voter registration plans are proliferating, and women are a special target.

The Democratic National Committee's Women's Vote '84 Task Force is a traveling road show of voter registration information and gender gap statistics to help women around the country tap into party

resources and learn the latest political technology. The 31 state task forces established thus far are preparing locally coordinated voter registration projects targeting single heads of households, social service recipients and younger women, according to program director Elizabeth Burke Bryant.

Outside the party, the widest-reaching program is the Women's Vote Project, a coalition of 60-plus groups pledged to register 1.5 million women by November. Working through its member groups, the project now has operations in 23 states. Along with the League of Women Voters, it has staff coordinators in 10 cities in Maryland, California, North Carolina, New Jersey and Ohio, and hopes to place coordinators in the other 12 states that have 500,000 or more unregistered women voters.

The project's strength is in its scope, encompassing groups from Girls Clubs to the Association of American University Women to unions, all using their own strategies to reach women in the interest groups they represent. The association Nine to Five registered office workers during National Secretaries Week. Girls Clubs across the country have printed shopping bags urging women to vote. Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND) registered 500 women at a Mothers Day rally in Boston. And voter registration will become NOW's main national project, once the primary battle is over, with a strategy based on the group's successful outreach to unregistered working women during the 1982 ERA campaign in Illinois.

But the project's field operations will likely be minimal. As a clearinghouse for women and groups wanting to register voters but unsure where to begin, it often amounts to director Joanne Howes and associate Susan Smith in an office at the National Women's Education Fund building, taking interminable phone calls and trying to facilitate both grassroots efforts and institutional campaigns. For now, the project is underfunded and relies heavily on enthusiastic volunteerism—the trademark of women's political

projects.

The two groups that could do most to add unregistered poor women to the rolls are not specifically geared to women. But Project Vote and Human SERVE, with their emphasis on signing up social service recipients, are reaching mostly women, in the groups that tend to be the most antagonistic to Reagan.

Project Vote, established in 1981, registered social service recipients at distribution sites—food stamp lines, unemployment and Social Security offices and where surplus food is provided. Its work with women underscores the feminization of poverty statistics: of the 200,000 people registered this year, according to project director Sanford Newman, approximately 70 percent are women. If it reaches its goal of 750,000 new voters by November, it will have added more than a half-million women to the rolls.

Human SERVE, which enlists social service workers to register many of the same group of people, predicts it can register up to two million voters. Advanced by Frances Fox Piven (page 13) and Richard Cloward, it seeks to unite social service recipients and providers—both groups predominantly women—behind their common interests: a government that meets basic human needs. It began with an impressive pilot project in New York during the spring of 1983, registering 42,000 voters in just eight weeks. Now, with projects in 14 states, the mechanism is a little more complicated.

A main achievement of both projects has been attracting attention to obstacles to voter registration. Lawsuits pending in 20 states are challenging restrictions on voter registration in social service offices or by agency workers. The battle has only heightened the social contradictions that make it harder in some areas of the country to register to vote than to buy a gun.

But a key difference between the two projects is an emphasis on turnout. Project Vote has pioneered experiments in turning out its low-income target voters and concluded there's little benefit to reg-

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- The "gender gap" between women and men in public office**
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When will American feminism catch up with its potential constituency?

By Barbara Ehrenreich

THE POTENTIAL STRENGTH and the current weakness of American feminism seemed encapsulated in an event I attended last February in New Hampshire. The occasion was a Susan B. Anthony award dinner hosted by the YWCA, which has become, as it has in many regions, something of a feminist front group in the state. Five hundred women filled the ballroom of a fading, roadside motel, up from 350 last year.

They were young and old (many, in fact, mother-daughter pairs); some dressed in the professional woman's standard suit-and-silk-blouse, others in their cocktail party best, and a sprinkling in country-feminist blue jeans and sweaters. There were rousing anti-Reagan speeches, moving personal testimonials, standing

Nowhere except in the U.S. have women actually moved to the left of men.

ovations, songs and much embracing and moist-eyed appreciation all around. It was down-home American feminism at its best—a movement that has succeeded in developing a broad oppositional culture without getting side-tracked into a subculture.

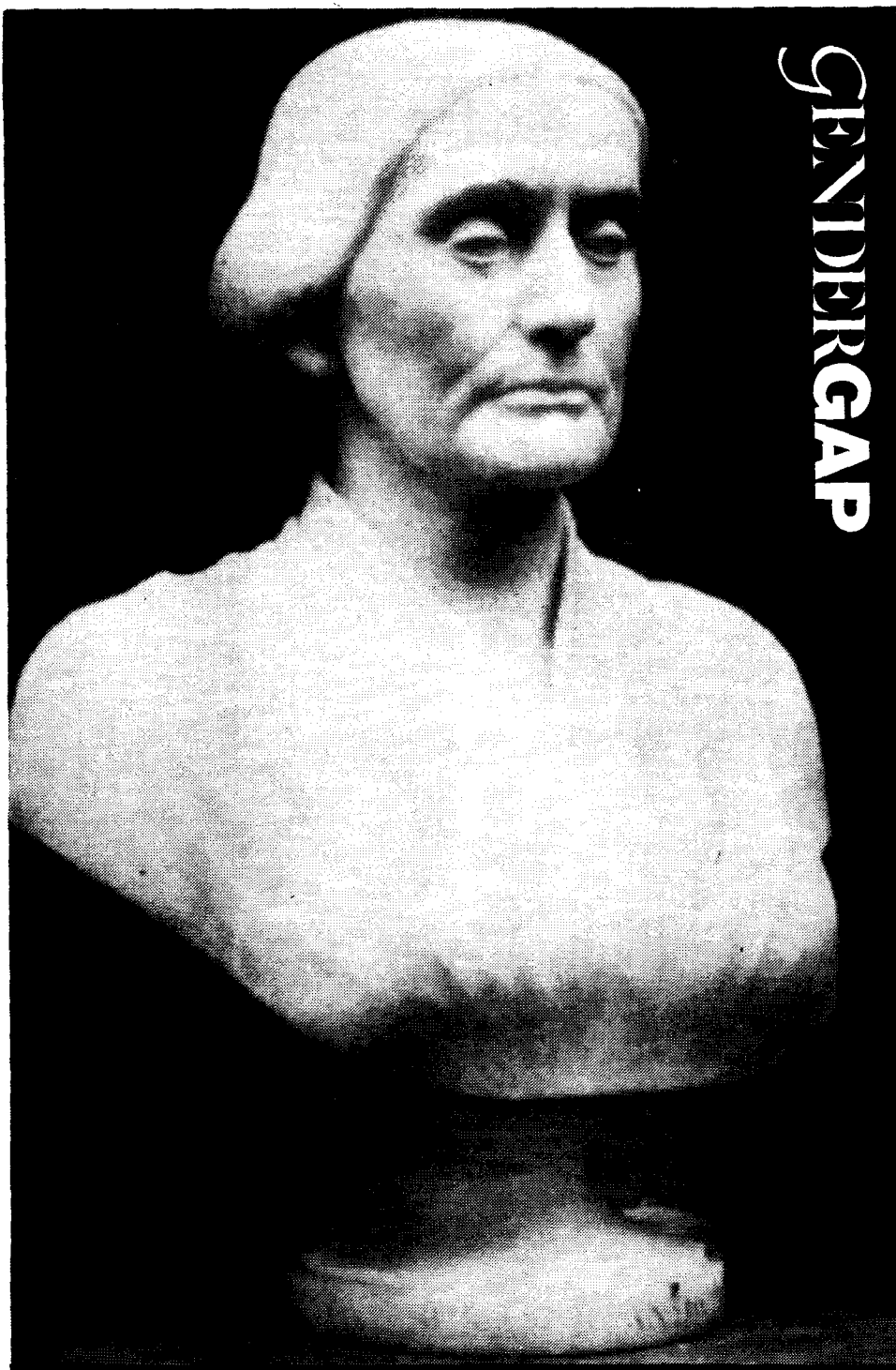
Afterwards, a few of us looked in at a Walter Mondale rally that had been tacked on, somewhat opportunistically, to the main event. The draw here was three nationally known feminists: a vice president of NOW, which had recently endorsed Mondale; New York City Council President Carol Bellamy; and Betty Friedan. They spoke briefly, hammering away on the theme of Mondale's electability—but they could not fully distract all of the 75 assembled women from the cash bar on one side of the room. It was a lackluster event in which everyone seemed to accept the premise that the women's movement was now captive to the Democratic Party's center and its front-running candidate—a curiously resigned attitude, given that women's political power has never been greater.

For the first time since American women achieved suffrage in 1920, women are a recognized political force—feared by Republicans and courted assiduously by Democrats. Political commentators from Kevin Phillips to Bella Abzug agree that women could decide the presidential election of 1984, and that their decision will go resoundingly against Ronald Reagan.

The key to their new power is the gender gap. In 1980, and again in the congressional elections of 1982, women's vote diverged from men's by approximately 10 percentage points in favor of the Democrats. Opinion polls showed a parallel divergence in political attitudes: women are more pacifist than men, more concerned about the environment, and more supportive of government social welfare programs. Now peace, social welfare and environment are described as the "gender gap issues." Disconcertingly, neither the Equal Rights Amendment nor abortion make that list. To judge from poll data alone, American women have not on the whole become more feminist than men; they have moved to the left of men.

An American exception.

This development is not only historically unique for the U.S. It is unique interna-



WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

tionally. In the United Kingdom and Europe, there has traditionally been what we could label a "reverse gender gap"—women have voted more conservatively than men, especially where there is a Christian Democratic Party to vote for. In Europe women have become more liberal in recent years, so that the "reverse gender gap" is closing. But nowhere except in the U.S., as far as I can discover, have women actually moved to the left of men. Here we seem to have a genuine case of American exceptionalism; and if no one has so far noted this in the volumes of commentary on the gender gap, it is because of our equally exceptional provincialism.

Explanations for the gender gap usually contain the following ingredients, in varying proportions: "feminine values," such as nurturance and compassion, which are believed to predispose women to a peaceable and welfare-statish political stance; the rapid influx of women into the workforce, especially in the '70s; the rise in the number of women who are single heads of households; Ronald Reagan; and feminism itself. Obviously, feminine values do not explain much by themselves, since they should have been just as strong in 1960 as in 1980 and should be as compelling in Italy as in the U.S. So the usual line of reasoning is that feminine values have somehow been activated

or de-repressed as women have gained a measure of independence from men.

The transition from the supermarket to the labor market has, unquestionably, been an eye-opening one. Most working women are concentrated in stereotypically female occupations that do not pay enough to support a family or even a fairly ascetic individual. Meanwhile, more than nine million American women are the sole support of their families (up by 100 percent since 1970), and under conditions that have been made all the more difficult by Reaganomics. The American welfare state, which was always shamefully inadequate by European standards, has been savaged by cutbacks. The capital offensive against labor in the workplace is in full swing—and these are surely radicalizing conditions for anyone who must go home at night to feed her children. To emphasize these developments' importance, polls find the most "liberal" wom-

But liberal feminism has become detached from the grassroots.

en, statistically speaking, are unmarried, employed and/or black or Hispanic.

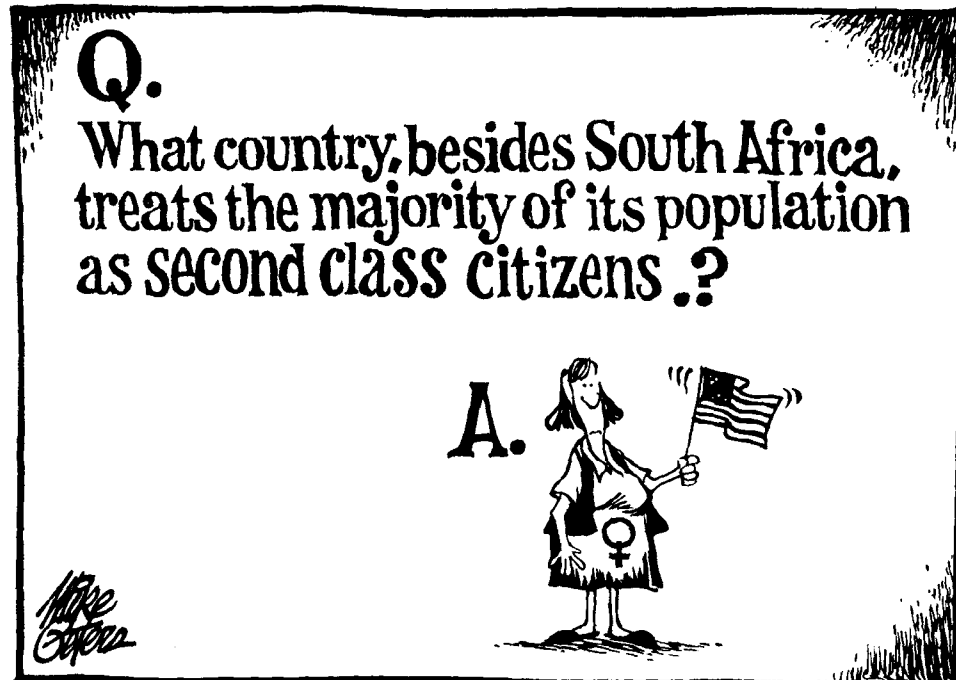
How much feminism itself has had to do with the creation of the gender gap is hard to say. Naturally, we would like to take credit for it, and the threat of the gender gap has been used by feminists to bludgeon Congress into voting for child support enforcement legislation and a modicum of public sector job creation for women, among other worthy things. Similarly, it is the gender gap, rather than any innate chivalry or conscience, that has impelled the Democratic presidential candidates to state their willingness to consider female running mates and to promise undying support for the ERA.

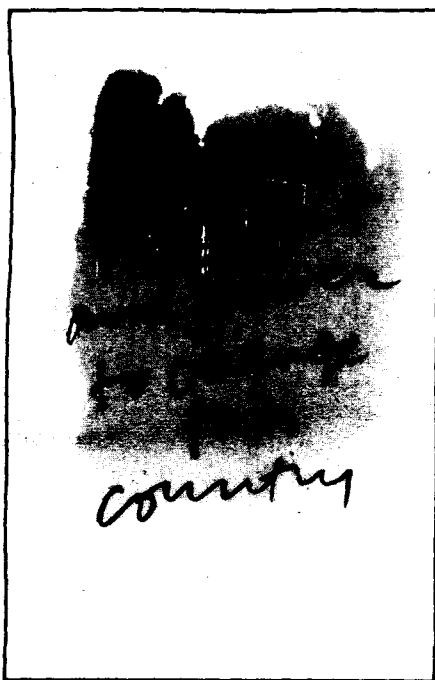
But if feminists invoke the gender gap to achieve feminist aims, they cannot easily claim that the gap represents the emergence of an explicitly feminist mass constituency. The timing is right—the gender gap follows on the feminist revival of the '60s and '70s (whereas the winning of the vote in 1920 coincided with the death of the earlier feminist movement). But the issues—peace and social spending rather than the ERA—are not.

My own interpretation is that the aggregate gender gap has more to do with the proletarianization of women under the current adverse conditions than it does with feminist ideology. It is poor women, and most strikingly, poor, single, working women, who account for much of the aggregate gap, and feminism—despite all our efforts—is still largely a middle-class movement and ideology. But if feminism cannot take credit for the aggregate gap, it probably can take credit for the "elite gap"—the difference between college educated, and presumably middle-class, men and women. In the 1980 election the "elite gap" was greater than the gap at any other socio-economic level: 17 percentage points, or more than twice the national average (i.e., 58 percent of male college graduates chose Reagan, compared to 41 percent of comparable women voters).

Of course, economic determinism could be at work even among the "elite": college-graduate women are much less likely than men to actually be middle class, especially on the strength of their own earnings. But I would not discount the effect of feminism as a liberal, or social-democratic, ideology, and here again an

Continued on page 10





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Continued from page 9

element of American exceptionalism comes into play. In the absence of labor party or significant socialist political presence, the women's movement has been a major carrier of social democratic values throughout the '70s and '80s. For example, at one of the most important feminist events of the '70s—the federally-sponsored First National Women's Conference in Houston in 1977—women voted for a program of reforms that, with the deletion of gender references, could have been taken for the platform of a European socialist party. The program was entirely ignored by President Carter, but the "spirit of Houston" is, if anything, stronger than ever. American feminism may be "bourgeois," "individualistic" and all the other things its left-wing detractors have said about it, but it is also a powerful force on the left—and all the more so since the arrival of Reagan and his New Right, anti-feminist shock troops.

Class treason.

If I am right about the role of feminism in creating the "elite gap," one could say that feminism has acted to alienate relatively privileged women from their own class interest: from the pro-business, pro-Cold War interests of the men of their class. Of course this is not universal; many young women have been inspired by feminism to elbow their way into Wall Street law firms and high-paying medical fields, and it is not clear whether feminist, or even "feminine" values can survive in these settings. But the new tendency of women to identify themselves as Democrats is striking, as is the growing disaffection of many high-placed Republican women. For example, National Women's Political Caucus President Kathy Wilson, who is in the increasingly oxymoronic position of being a Republican feminist, has called the president a "danger," and former Reagan functionary Barbara Honegger has been campaigning as a feminist for Jesse Jackson. These are laudable cases of class treason,

inspired not only by the male beligerence of the president, but by the strength of feminism as an inter-class ideology that potentially links even upper-class women with the most oppressed of their sisters.

If the "elite gap" is a measure of the present constituency for feminism, then it seems to me that the aggregate gap is a measure of the possible constituency for feminism. Women are voting differently from men in no small part because they are less likely to be tied to men by financial dependency. They do not experience the "privilege," so often invoked by Phyllis Schlafly, of being full-time housewives. They face male authority, and blatant sexism, in its public forms—at work and in the crumbling institutions of the welfare state. Surely these are the "material conditions" for at least a proto-feminist, as well as a proto-socialist, kind of consciousness.

But who is going to articulate this consciousness and help it find a more forceful expression than that offered by the current leadership of the Democratic Party? Probably not the women's movement's mainstream national leadership, not only because their approach to politics has become increasingly "professional" and detached from grassroots mobilization, but also because their premiere issues—the ERA and a woman vice president—are, for many women, somewhat remote and symbolic.

The best hope, it seems to me, is for the re-emergence of socialist-feminism, not as an organizationally separate tendency, but as a political spirit infusing—and bringing together—the women's movement and the various pieces of the left. Liberal feminism, to use Juliet Mitchell's old categories, has been the defining core of American feminism. It gave feminism legitimacy in a country that lacks a sturdy radical tradition, and it has been able to involve and unite women across class and party lines. But it can no longer keep up with its own constituency, potential and actual. When women move to the left, so must feminism.

Barbara Ehrenreich is co-chair of Democratic Socialists of America.

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NOW

Backing Mondale inspired some, divided others



GENDERGAP

By Rachel Gorlin

NEW YORK

"THE DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL field this year is a feminist dream in the world of real politics," notes one California member of the National Organization for Women (NOW). "The only thing that could be better is having a woman at the top of the ticket. Frankly, I'm not really sure anymore why, as a woman's rights organization, we're supporting Fritz Mondale over Jackson and Hart. On our issues they're all fine, let alone how much better any of them would be when compared to four more years of Reagan."

In this turbulent and surprising political year, that NOW member is not alone. Though NOW Vice-President Mary Jean Collins says the 250,000-member group's unprecedented endorsement in the Democratic presidential race did what "it was intended to do: focus activity on the presidential campaign early to defeat Ronald Reagan," NOW has been criticized for, in the words of former member and Hart supporter Gillian Sorensen, "playing power politics at the expense of the women's movement's larger interests."

When the NOW leadership began serious consideration of a presidential endorsement, Reagan was the second man to beat; the first was Ohio Senator and then-presidential aspirant John Glenn. "The issues on which the gender gap is based—peace, aid to the disadvantaged—were weak spots for Glenn. He just wasn't

going to make it with women, and their votes are clearly necessary to beat Reagan. Mondale was the frontrunner with a much better record on feminist issues, the logical choice," says a NOW source, who asked not to be identified, as she describes the political landscape last fall. "If we were going to make the first presidential endorsement in our 17-year history, we wanted to get the biggest bang for our buck," says the NOW source.

On Dec. 10, 1983, the NOW board voted 32 to five to support Walter Mondale, with California Sen. Alan Cranston claiming the allegiance of the holdouts. Mondale himself appeared several days later at a press conference with NOW President Judy Goldsmith to personally accept the endorsement.

Resentment from other camps was kindled by Goldsmith's original endorsement statement and intensified by campaign literature circulated by the local affiliate in the New York primary, because NOW resisted acknowledging the exemplary voting records and positions of other candidates in the race. The campaigns of Senators Cranston and Hart and the Rev. Jesse Jackson made overtures to NOW even after the Mondale endorsement seemed a *fait accompli*, hoping to get at least favorable mention in Goldsmith's remarks.

After Hart's New Hampshire victory, the organization began a tough negative campaign against him. On March 5 at a Springfield, Mass., debate, in answer to a question from the audience, Hart said he opposed "federal subsidies" for abortion. The next day, Judy Goldsmith sent

a letter to all NOW members in the Super Tuesday primary states attacking Hart's "stunning reversal" on the choice issue. A NOW press release dated March 6, which went virtually unreported by the news media, quoted Goldsmith saying, "Sen. Hart has allied himself with those who would deny women the right to choose whether and when to have children...."

According to one NOW chapter leader, the national NOW office admitted it had gone public without asking Hart's office for an interpretation of what he had actually meant. In a letter sent to both NOW and the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) that same week, Hart stated unequivocally that he would continue to support federal Medicaid funding for abortion. (Apparently, he had interpreted the term subsidy to mean some sort of incentive program.)

In the wake of the seeming distortions of Hart's position in the March 6 letter and press releases, several NOW state affiliates, including Illinois and Virginia, passed resolutions asking that the organization formally apologize to Hart. "The organization's integrity was at a stake," said one state leader. "This stunt put our reputation for solid research and accuracy on the line with our allies on Capitol Hill." In Virginia, a Mondale supporter proposed the Hart apology resolution and it passed almost unanimously at the state convention just before the New York primary.

Then, during the New York primary campaign, literature that disparaged Hart's voting record and completely ignored Jackson was paid for by the NOW delegate committee and circulated by NOW volunteers. This riled New York's feminist community, especially women who supported Hart.

Following the New York primary, Colorado Rep. Pat Schroeder, a co-chair of Hart's campaign, and several others called NOW President Goldsmith to ask that the attacks and distortions cease. Since then, the *New York Times* has quoted NOW officials saying that Hart's "record on women's issues is virtually flawless."

In California's hotly contested primary, the NOW affiliate, rocked by turbulence in the wake of the Ginny Foat affair, has apparently run a clean, pro-Mondale campaign.

California President Sandra Farha had originally been involved in the Hart campaign before her decision to seek NOW office. In New Jersey, a significant number of NOW members reportedly were working in the Hart primary campaign. "We realize that we'll all be working together after the convention. I said to the Hart people at the outset, 'Listen, this is a Republican state and we don't want to say anything on either side that we'll end up being sorry for in November,'" says Christine Carmody, chair of the NOW-New Jersey Political Action Committee.

Unquestionably NOW's mobilization on behalf of Walter Mondale's candidacy has brought hundreds, perhaps thousands, of feminists into electoral politics for the first time. "Much the way women went into the workforce in the '60s and '70s, women are going to be moving into politics in the '80s," observes Kathy Bonk of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund's Media Project.

In the context of the Reagan administration, NOW's entrance into the electoral arena makes political sense, but larger philosophical questions remain

about the sort of electoral involvement most appropriate for the nation's largest feminist organization.

Hart pollster Dotty Lynch, who was part of Hart's lobbying team in his lukewarm quest for the NOW endorsement last fall, puts it this way: "How much does it get you to play nice with people who are entrenched and have serious economic vested interests in preserving the status quo? I can't believe that to work on the inside of the Mondale campaign is as effective as if NOW members were pushing from the outside for a woman vice president."

The "inside versus outside" debate is not easily resolved. NOW leadership has clearly gained direct access to Mondale as a result of their organization's support. Still, a NOW source says, "we got nothing in terms of delegates. We'll have maybe 200 or 300 on the convention floor. That's more than in 1980, but it's still been bad for the morale of the organization."

In California, for example, only 13 NOW members were running for 306 delegate slots available. It is progress over previous years, but it's far from comparing with union representation, for example.

When all is said and done, has the NOW endorsement done what it is supposed to do—sway voters? Again, the answer is hard to discern. Both Jackson and Hart backers agree that NOW support has "meant something" to voters around the country concerned about women's rights and issues like child care, disarmament and racial discrimination.

But pollster Lynch points to ABC exit polls indicating that "Gary Hart and Jesse Jackson, and Jackson in particular, seem to get more votes from those who are concerned about equality of women than does Walter Mondale."

Its Chicago chapter's controversial support of Jane Byrne over Harold Washington in last year's Chicago mayoral primary has made NOW sensitive to criticism that the organization confirmed its image as white and middle class by not joining Jackson's "rainbow coalition."

By the Jackson campaign's own admission, at the time NOW's board made its decision last December, Jackson had been in the race "for two minutes." It didn't help that for years Jackson was the leading minority anti-abortion spokesperson. (One tribute to the gender gap was Jackson's conversion to a pro-choice position upon beginning his presidential bid.)

Whether the Democratic candidate—whatever he may be—wins or loses in November, NOW's active membership will doubtless go through a reassessment of its goals after the election. "I don't know whether it would be better for us as an organization, in the long run, if Mondale won or if he lost," confesses a NOW activist. "Will we play 'insider politics' in a Mondale administration, muting our criticism and pushing only our most political issues? That could finish us."

It seems too soon to tell whether NOW's Mondale endorsement will divide the women's movement in the long term. But most NOW members agree with the sentiments of New York NOW's Barbara Rockman, who said with a laugh, "There are overriding issues keeping us together that are more important than the candidacies of three men."

Rachel Gorlin is a New York-based journalist.

Gender

Continued from page 8

istration without a get-out-the-vote effort. A New Jersey experiment showed that only 29 percent of its newly registered voters went to the polls if they received just a follow-up letter; 56 percent voted with a letter and a phone call; 66 percent with a letter and two calls. Thus Project Vote has built a turnout mechanism into its field operations that is becoming a model for other projects, relying on phone banks, mailings and shuttle service from distribution sites to the polls.

Human SERVE has no formal turnout mechanism, which makes its impact somewhat hard to gauge. Piven argues that complicated regulations make registration the biggest obstacle to voting; Project Vote's experience would seem to indicate otherwise.

Yet turning over welfare recipients' names to a political organization would likely raise other problems. Already the project has been criticized for politicizing the supposedly neutral bureaucracy—nervous Republicans have challenged it for a built-in Democratic bias. From the left, voting analyst Curtis Gans finds it "a conflict of interest, if not a violation of law," for social service workers to register their clients, because he believes it implies a connection between voting and receiving services. No doubt following up on social service registrants with phone calls and letters would swell the ranks of those who find the project Big Brotherly.

National network?

Project Vote and Human SERVE's merits lie in their choice of a target group and development of a model to reach it. Because the gender gap has cut across class and issue lines, women's groups have had a hard time similarly narrowing their vision. Bella Abzug's Women USA, which had a women's vote pilot project in six states for the 1982 election, cut a path to-

ward a coherent registration, education and turnout mechanism for women. By polling and working with local women's coalitions, it identified issues that motivated women's votes and developed educational materials to reach them.

As a national network, however, it has had its organizational problems. Although coalitions still exist in some form in all six states, they're not a national structure. Women USA will be active this year in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, working with the Women's Vote Project and local groups, says director Margaret McEntire.

But a California outgrowth of Women USA is building on its lessons and establishing a model that could have national importance. The Women's Economic Agenda Project (WEAP)—whose slogan, "Two out of three adults in poverty are women... What if we were all to go to the polls," hangs on DNC political director Ann Lewis' wall—has emerged from the conclusions drawn from Women USA's work: that economic issues are what most concern women today. Their goal is developing an economic agenda that meets women's needs and sends them to the polls for candidates who support it.

Launched by Elaine Zimmerman, who ran the northern California Women USA project, and co-chaired by Charlene Daigre, president of Oakland's Black Women United for Political Action, the agenda has now traversed the state, gathering local women for discussions of their economic problems. There's consciousness-raising about national trends—how many more women are getting poor, how little is being done about it. But during each meeting the gender gap is presented as the light of their tunnel. "We listen to their problems and talk about other women's problems and then say, 'But there's something you can do about it, there's the gender gap—women's votes count,'" says Zimmerman. "And they all say, 'Can you register me to vote?'"

That's the next step. Some 300 women were expected to convene in Sacramento June 9-10 to ratify the agenda, which calls for expansion of social programs for

women—from welfare to job training to child care—beyond their pre-Reagan level; comparable worth legislation; reproductive choice; social security and pension reform; a national health-care plan; and, to help finance it all, drastic military cuts.

From there, local delegates will return to their communities to publicize the agenda, present it to local candidates for their support, and register women to vote for those who adopt it. Its voter registration effort may hook up with Women USA, but WEAP will retain its own goals. "We want these women to organize themselves at their own rate," says Zimmerman.

The project's deliberate strategy is a roadmap of the women's movement's difficulties in adopting an economic focus and linking up with women who aren't middle class. It is carefully multi-racial—most of its regional organizers are black or Hispanic—and its presentations carefully point out the racial divisiveness implied in the sudden attention to the "feminization of poverty," a term that implies poverty only became a problem once more white women started getting poor. Yet they realize the political reality—that poverty gains attention as it touches more lives—and have carefully hooked up with NOW, NWPC, the League of Women Voters and Business and Professional Women.

"It's become a way for different women to learn about each other, to become less segregated," says co-founder Sandy Chelnov, who compiled the agenda. To underscore that, the Los Angeles ratification conference brought out 35 people on Memorial Day weekend, who came representing NOW, NWPC, a local artists group, a black business women's association, State Sen. Diane Watson's staff and an area church.

WEAP's importance is that it takes a leap of faith, focusing on economic issues as the chief cause of the gender gap and educating women about their common interests. The women it attracts are the pollsters' anti-Reagan "gender gap women." But while it is beginning to draw at-

tention as a national model, its long-run impact will be greater than its short-term achievements, since it makes no pretense of being an electoral machine and won't likely turn out decisive numbers of voters in November.

But what about the women some observers find most intriguing in the gender gap statistics: women whose class or partisan affiliations make staunch Republicans out of men, but who support the president by as much as 20 percent less? Some of these women will be tapped by the existing voter registration projects, such as the Business and Professional Women's effort within the Women's Vote Project. But most of these women already vote, and those who oppose Reagan are hardliners, mainly because of the influence of feminism, as Barbara Ehrenreich notes (page 9), and Reagan's assault on women's rights.

Efforts to link women's voting and their concern for peace should reach some of these women as well. Freeze Voter '84 is focusing on independent and Republican women who support the freeze to defeat its Republican targets, most notably Illinois Sen. Charles Percy. Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament has built a strong electoral emphasis into all its projects, focusing on voter registration and education. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom began a women's poll project to establish and publicize the link between women's aversion to Reagan's military buildup and their voting patterns.

The most formal link between organized feminism and the peace movement is the Women's Trust, headed by former NOW president Eleanor Smeal. It's an ambitious project organizing around all the gender gap issues—economy social spending, women's rights and peace—but focusing on women's opposition to Reagan's foreign policy.

Its kick-off project is a demonstration in Washington on June 12—the second anniversary of the 1982 disarmament rally—labelled "Women Running Against Reagan." From there, its Gender

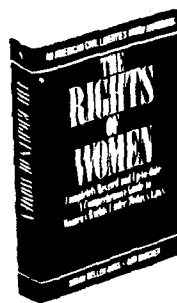
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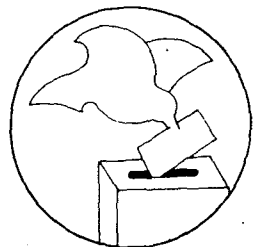
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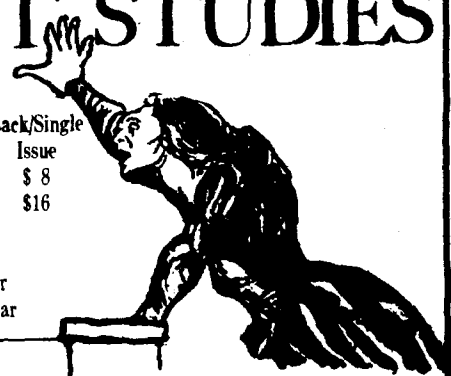
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IN THESE TIMES JUNE 13-26, 1984 13
ward a political alliance between workers and clients of the welfare state, who share common political interests. But it is welfare institutions that bring workers and clients together and make it possible to contemplate the addition of tens of millions of poor women to the American electorate.

These unregistered women are the shock troops of the gender gap. They are overwhelmingly opposed to the defense buildup, to military intervention abroad and to regressive economic and social policies. They are the most important potential constituency for the left that exists in the U.S., and it is the welfare state that could make it possible to draw them into the electoral system on a large scale.

Who likes welfare?

But if all of this is so—if there actually is an infrastructure that makes collective action by women possible, and if the ideas to motivate resistance are there—why isn't much more happening? Why aren't more women human service workers registering their clients, or staging sit-ins to protest program cuts? I think the answer is that the institutional turf on which I am proposing to fight makes many of us who are the potential leaders very uncomfortable. We are not proud about the involvement of women with social welfare programs, and you cannot lock arms and stand firm if you are not proud. The problem, in other words, is with the way we think about women and the welfare state. These ideas are deterring us from using political resources that are within our grasp.

Put bluntly, we don't like "welfare," and we don't like to contemplate organizing within the framework it creates. Many feminists share the prevalent American bias against the welfare state as such. They have come to associate emancipation with entry into the market, and upward mobility within it. There is irony in these leadership attitudes (as there is in the similar attitudes expressed by some black leaders), given the increasingly impoverished circumstances of so many women and the unlikelihood of their escape from the low-wage service-sector jobs to which the market consigns them. The irony is compounded because more middle-class constituents of feminist organizations work for welfare state agencies than banks, or advertising companies, or Silicon Valley entrepreneurs.

This bias among feminist leaders is not unmotivated. A good many women leaders, like black leaders, are trying to build their organizations by operating in political and business spheres where a spirited defense of the welfare state would not open doors or win points. So we have conflicting ideas, and we are deeply ambivalent: women object that women are being made the victims of program cuts, but we are not quite willing to defend the programs that are being cut. Our denunciations are neither bold nor passionate, and that means we are failing to articulate and release the depths of moral indignation embedded in the gender gap.

Our ambivalence is thus producing narrow and short-sighted calculations of organizational interest, for it rules out the possibility of creating a new political force capable of opening doors and winning points on its own terms. It rules out the possibility of activating and leading a movement that includes poor and working women.

In the '30s, a union oligarch named John L. Lewis understood the enormous possibilities represented by the stirrings of industrial workers who were beginning to demand the right to organize. He sensed the potential power of a movement for industrial unionism, which the existing AFL craft unions were resisting, at least partly because of their dislike and distrust of industrial workers, and their fear of mass strikes. Lewis broke with his longtime cronies among the leaders of the AFL and became the fiery spokesman for industrial unionism. He took a chance, risked his career and his organization, and helped create a movement that changed American history. Now women leaders have that same chance. ■

Frances Fox Piven co-authored *Poor People's Movements* and *The New Class War*.



WELFARE POLITICS

Women's common ground

By Frances Fox Piven

IMAGINE WHAT MIGHT HAVE HAPPENED. It is summer 1981. A new Republican administration, with the acquiescence or active support of most Democrats, enacts a program of massive cuts in social programs for the poor. Indignant feminist leaders, quickly realizing it is women and their children who will be the main victims, initiate protest marches in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston. The TV networks feature Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan and Bella Abzug holding aloft banners proclaiming the rights of mothers and children to food or health care or housing or heating fuel. The ranks of the marchers are not numerous, but outrage spreads, demonstrations continue, the ranks swell and the cameras turn to the increasing numbers of poor women and women of color hauling their infants and toddlers with them as they walk alongside the skirt-suited women from downtown offices.

Meanwhile, in the state capitals, feminists who not so long before had chained themselves to statehouse columns in the battle for ERA, chain themselves again, this time daring state politicians to pass along the federal cuts to poor women by slashing the AFDC or Medicaid programs. And here and there sit-down strikes break out among women staff members in health and welfare agencies who refuse to implement new restrictions in the Maternal and Child Health Program and the Women, Infants and Children Feeding Program.

This scenario is to me entirely credible. It could have happened. And it could still happen. The potential for political resistance among American women is enormous, as signalled more than anything else by the poll data on the "gender gap." Ordinarily, attitudes tabulated in surveys tend to be easily influenced by the definitions promulgated by political leaders and the press. Remember, for example, how readily a majority of men responded to the cues of the president and joined in the celebration of national military prowess after the sweep of Grenada. Amazingly, most women were immune to this "echo chamber" effect. And they have

also been more or less immune to the neo-laissez faire arguments invoked by politicians to justify current domestic policies. In effect, women are bringing their traditional values into public life to challenge the domination of the market and the military. All of this—the huge constituency of the gap, its resilience in the face of dominant definitions and its roots in women's traditional experiences—spells the possibility of political resistance on a grand scale.

But it hasn't occurred. True, women's organizations regularly issue statements denouncing current national policies, and they are often the only ones to do so. They lobby, too, and they work to promote women candidates for political office. These are welcome efforts in a gloomy political season, but they are puny beside the vast political potential suggested by the gender gap. Relatively few women have been reached and activated, especially relatively few of the working and poor women whom the data show are the stalwarts of gender gap convictions.

Common institutions.

Some might argue that the reason a militant cross-class movement has failed to emerge is that the constituency of the gender gap lacks a common institutional basis for action. No conceivable organizing effort can bring people together for sustained, large scale collective action when public circumstances separate them.

Political movements are not constructed out of ideas alone. Movements are forms of collective action, and like all collective action they depend on institutions that bring people together, create the shared experiences out of which common grievances and common enemies are identified and generate the resources that make possible concrete forms of political action. Peasant movements have depended on the solidarities, the grievances and the forms of leverage generated by the village social structure. Similarly, industrial workers were in the most significant sense first organized by the factory system—only then could they be unionized.

What is at first glance discouraging about the constituency of the gender gap and the possibility for collective action is

that it encompasses women whose lives are shaped by utterly different social circumstances, who seem to inhabit no common institutional terrain on which to build common identities and garner the resources to become a political force.

But I think this explanation overlooks a major institutional framework that makes a greatly expanded women's movement possible—the welfare state. Welfare state agencies, both voluntary and public, bring together tens of millions of women, from highly educated professionals who are among the best-off women in the U.S., to deeply impoverished welfare mothers who are the worst-off. More than 12 million women work in social welfare agencies, and these jobs account for fully half of all the professional jobs held by women. At the other end of the gender class structure, three million of the very poorest women and their children depend on AFDC, Medicaid and food stamp programs. Some 25 million older or disabled women depend on Social Security and Medicare. And still millions more rely on federally assisted housing or on the services provided by health programs or day care centers or battered women's shelters.

Movements in the '30s and '60s demonstrated that the relations formed among service recipients who must hang around on the lines and in the waiting rooms can be the basis for collective action. The important question, if a cross-class women's movement is to develop, is whether the numerous linkages between workers and clients can also become, at this particular historical juncture, the basis for common action.

One modest effort to use the institutional relations of the welfare state for political action is the Human Service Employees Registration and Voter Education (Human SERVE) campaign, with which I have been working for the past year. The campaign is enlisting workers in welfare state agencies, both public and voluntary, to offer voter registration services along with other services—which means women are registering women (a half million so far), whether in AFDC or food stamp agencies, in family planning or health centers or battered women's shelters and day care centers. The effort is a step to-

Gender

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Gap Action Campaign will focus on raising gender gap consciousness, with celebrity tours, a media campaign, direct mail and voter registration and turnout efforts.

"The size of the gender gap varies depending on the issues in the public eye," says veteran NOW activist Mollie Yard, who co-chairs the campaign with Pam Solo of the American Friends Service Committee. "We're going to keep these issues before the public."

Organizing women's opposition to the arms race makes sense, since there's certainly a link between some portion of the gender gap and women's fears of Reagan's bellicosity. What's less clear is how strongly women's foreign policy concerns influence their vote. Those who liken the

American gender gap to European women's role in the antinuclear Green Party or the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—to prove women's emerging pacifist militance—rhetoric common in Sonia Johnson's Citizens Party campaign for president (page 19)—are going too far. No symbolic gesture like cruise or Pershing missile deployment has catalyzed anti-war sentiment among women or men here; more immediate concerns have greater impact on their votes.

The long run.

In interviews during the past several months, political women around the country have expressed confidence that the gender gap's political significance remains as strong as it was last summer, when the chasm was at its widest. But while everyone describes an unprecedented political activism among women, few can predict its impact.

Off the record, they note difficulties in getting coherent projects off the ground, stress incessant fundraising problems, surmise that one strategy or another is ineffective or divisive. And most would agree with Hart pollster Dotty Lynch, who says frankly, "I don't think we know enough yet to have good strategies around sex and voting."

The picture will likely brighten when—or if—the Democrats resolve their differences in San Francisco and unite behind one candidate. "The issue in this election is Ronald Reagan, and Democrats have to shift attention back to him," says William Schneider.

Notes Lynch, "For now, the focus has been on the divided Democrats, while Reagan has acted presidential and above the fray." In a one-on-one campaign, the Democratic nominee can expect almost immediately to improve his current standing, among women and men.

But long-term predictions are difficult. Feminists from Republican NWPC president Kathy Wilson to Frances Fox Piven argue persuasively that the gender gap represents an emergence of women's private values—compassion and connectedness—into the public realm. That seems undeniably true, a development no doubt precipitated by Reagan's repudiation of the politics of social responsibility inaugurated by the New Deal and institutionalized by the Great Society.

Women's overwhelming support for Democrats in 1982 was a reaction to a radical economic reversal that caused both systemic crisis and human suffering—forcing unemployment higher, beggar social services (and their dependents), producing record small-business failures and soaring deficits. But in today's relatively improved economy, they can't be counted on to reject Reagan's direction in such definitive numbers, across class and party lines.

Yet the gender gap's foundation, and its enduring social significance, won't be eroded by a deceptively improved economy. It lies in the growing number of women who have become economically independent—whether by choice or circumstance—and their persistent disadvantage in that realm. The process pre-

dates Reagan, of course, but in its initial stages women at least had the buffer of social programs, whether they were poor unemployed recipients or professional middle-class providers. When Reagan set about dismantling that structure, he tripped a wire, triggering political eruptions that have the potential to bring down the politics he represents—eventually.

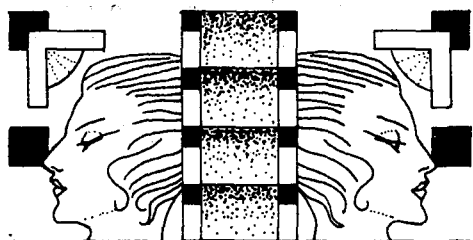
Women have become the constituency that socially responsible politics never had in this country. As Walter Dean Burnham shows, the absence of real political choices in the U.S.—"the politics of excluded alternatives"—has gradually eliminated much of the potential electorate, notably minorities, the poor and working-class voters.

In turn, a shrunken electorate has perpetuated the politically exclusive status quo. When economic crisis led Reagan and his supporters to the conclusion that the U.S. couldn't afford its social welfare commitments, it seemed a politically viable decision, because those who benefit from the rejected policies generally don't vote. As the gender gap proves, that is changing.

It may not be enough to oust Reagan, in part because the "excluded alternatives" Burnham laments haven't fully found their way onto the Democratic Party's agenda. But women provide the base for an "emerging Democratic majority," to borrow Kevin Phillips' formula, if the party can demonstrate its relevance to their changing lives and the larger social transformations represented there.

Two and a half million U.S. women are below the poverty line. An escalating military budget guarantees the present and future pauperization of women and children. Things are not better. To know is to act.

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Jeffrey Scates

MAXINE WATERS

A black feminist merges two worlds

By Joan Walsh

IN A POLITICAL SYSTEM THAT forces black women to bear a double burden of discrimination, the few who manage to win public office have to wear a lot of hats. But California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles) plays a remarkable number of roles by any standards. Four-term representative from Watts, she's the legislature's most vocal, left-wing advocate for the black, poor and thus disproportionately female constituency she represents. Yet with the sponsorship of powerbroking Assembly Leader Willie Brown (D-San Francisco), who calls her "the number-one woman in California politically," she is one of the state's most powerful Democrats, recently winning promotion to Democratic Caucus chair—imagine U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums as Tip O'Neill's point man.

On a national level, she's a prominent feminist, a member of the National Women's Political Caucus and vice president of Bella Abzug's Women USA. And her stature in black politics is rising, with her early and ardent support for Jesse Jackson's candidacy. Early in the campaign she tried to merge those two commitments, unsuccessfully lobbying NOW and individual feminist leaders to support Jackson. That effort having failed, she'll be a crucial figure in feminist efforts to link up minority women behind their Democratic convention and campaign agenda. But as she says in this interview, she views that *rapprochement* warily.

A former Head Start worker and Los Angeles City Council deputy, Waters won her Assembly seat in 1976 after incumbent Leon Ralph dropped out of the race an hour before the campaign filing deadline. She fought Ralph's chosen successor—and the L.A. black political machine—with a woman-oriented campaign that predated today's gender gap consciousness.

A computer search isolated single female heads of families—and found they accounted for 17,000 of the district's 35,000 households. Her mailings played up her experiences as a black, divorced mother and stressed her concern for women's issues with the slogan, "Isn't it about time—now let's get together and show what a woman can do." She won with a surprising 3,000-vote margin.

Since then, she's pushed an agenda of women's issues from sexual harassment to maternity leaves to Medi-Cal funding for post-mastectomy reconstructive surgery. She has sponsored a variety of plant-closing bills and is known for a preternatural aversion to legislation endorsed by the state Chamber of Commerce. Yet the *California Journal* credits her with winning "the wary respect of the people with whom she works."

A self-described "progressive" ("liberal" doesn't do it for me"), she's fallen out with allies on just a few occasions—the American Civil Liberties Union fought a bill she proposed several years ago that would have made racist political statements illegal. She brings a similarly uncompromising emphasis on racism to the Jackson campaign, which she believes

should hold out on the Democratic Party unless it commits to Jackson's structural reforms in the dual primary system and voter registration.

On the day she met with *In These Times*, Waters worked from 8:00 a.m. until far past lunch marking up bills in the Ways and Means subcommittee she heads, and spent the afternoon discussing Jackson's California campaign (which she chairs) with national media while her staff took calls from Democratic leaders seeking appointments (including Sen. Edward Kennedy, whose interest in the late primaries is fueling the irrepressible rumors about his role in a deadlocked convention). She ended the afternoon, though not her workday, with a long conversation about black women, feminism, Jesse Jackson and the Democratic Party.

There was a lot of support for Jesse Jackson at the Fourth National Policy Institute conference of black officials in March, even though Wilson Goode, not a Jackson supporter, was the keynote speaker. But women officials there seemed to support Jackson almost unanimously. What accounts for that?

Women come to the electoral arena with a different perspective. We are not bought in or tied in to the old boy's network, into traditional politics. The consideration that men often give to their actions is: am I going to be in or out with the right people? Am I going to get my invitation to the White House? Women really don't care about those considerations. We don't even know what terrible things are supposed to happen if you're not in with the right people at the right time. A lot of women are more willing to stand up on certain controversial issues—it's partly because we're new, and we don't have the same appreciation for tradition that men have, and partly that we believe very strongly and feel things very strongly and we're not willing to give them up. So I think that's why women are more willing to come out in support of Jesse Jackson—they don't fear that something terrible is going to happen to them if they don't, and they won't be in favor with Mondale or Hart.

Do you think that means black women politicians have a better grasp on the changing Democratic constituency?

Women and minorities can be on the cutting edge of politics right now, because of Jesse Jackson's involvement in this campaign. Jackson enjoys a phenomenal amount of support within the black community. Black women, in supporting his candidacy, are obviously more in touch with the masses than are men, who are still clinging to the old politics—I want to support Mondale because he's going to be president and I want to be on the right side, or my city won't get as much money. I think black women have an appreciation for Jesse Jackson's candidacy and are willing to support him even if it's not the popular "political" thing to do. But by being in touch with the masses who support him, we'll be the recipients of the phenomenal political support that's out there. It's a new day in politics for a lot of people, and the old guard does not understand what's going on.

But will the people that Jackson is bringing into the process remain there when he is not the Democratic candidate?

It depends on the leadership of Jesse Jackson, what he gives to it. I'd like to see him, when the primaries are over, convert the campaign organization into Rainbow '88. The people who have been brought into the process can be active on an ongoing basis but it's going to take the leadership of a Jesse Jackson for quite a while. If he just walks away many people who got involved around him won't stay there. But if he works with them based on an ideology—what vision do you have for what this culture, this world ought to be?—and people start developing that ideology, then they're there forever, even after he's gone.

Ronald Reagan certainly taught poor people that voting matters—his election changed people's lives in a material way. But the electoral activity in the black community, though politically encouraging, has been organized around having a

Jackson or a Harold Washington or a Wilson Goode or a Mel King on the ballot.

The Democratic Party is going to need Jesse Jackson. If he is willing to put in the time and energy to say to people, "Come with me and help get Reagan out of office, I think it's important that that be done. I think he can lead a lot of them to the ballot box. But I don't know that he should do it if the party turns its back on the people. I may be to the left of Jesse. I'm not interested in taking people to the ballot box with the simple message of getting rid of Reagan. A lot more has to go along with it, to reform this Democratic Party, which is the recipient of poor people's votes and owes a lot more to poor people than they get out of it—they are the loyalists of this party. And

"It's a new day in politics for a lot of people, and the old guard does not understand what's going on."

so, it's a painful thought, but I want to tell you, just as poor people have had to bear the brunt of this four years, and had to learn a lesson, the political system may learn a tough lesson if it's not willing to bend, to be more representative. It may mean we all have to hurt four more years.

Do you think Jackson is asking for enough from the party?

He hasn't really talked about what he wants, beyond ending second primaries and obstacles to voter registration. He hasn't said a lot. I think he's been trying to evaluate what structural changes he can make that are good for a large number of people. What are the obstacles in the process that prevent participation? I talk to people all the time and they say, "Is Jesse gonna ask for a Cabinet post?" I'm not interested in that kind of negotiation and I hope he's not, because that is not structural change. Most people don't get the immediate connection between doing away with second primaries and dual registration and how that results in more blacks getting into office. But that is structural change, bringing more blacks into the system—running the cities and getting elected to Congress. If the party is not willing to do that, then it has to pay the price. And the price is losing.

You said in December, when we discussed the NOW endorsement, that one problem in working with NOW is that the civil rights movement has never had a self-conscious feminist component. What have been the obstacles and do you see that changing?

Black women who are feminists cannot escape a dual responsibility. A black feminist must care about women and be an advocate for them and be part of a network of women to help solve problems. At the same time you've always got to be a civil rights activist, too, caring about the problems of color. Black women get torn in trying to communicate to the black community why feminism is important and meaningful and why more blacks—men and women—should be involved in advocating for women. At the same time, if you're part of the feminist movement, you're constantly saying you've got to bring women of color into it, issues have to be those that women of color can identify with, you've got to do more outreach. It's a constant struggle to merge those two worlds. Obviously, to some of us it makes good sense that those who are disenfranchised, or down and out, should be a coalition working together.

If NOW and other women's organizations had endorsed Jesse, it would have been a good, long-term coalition move. But in doing so they would have had to answer why this is a good move for wom-

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From "Sacrificial Lam



By Barbara Schuler

IN 1982, MISSOURI STATE SENATOR Harriett Woods challenged Republican John Danforth for his U.S. Senate seat in a race that took everyone by surprise. After the state Democratic Party discouraged her from seeking the nomination, Woods went on to win her primary by a two-to-one margin over the closest of 10 male opponents, to face Danforth—Missouri's champion GOP votegetter—in the general election.

But even after her impressive primary showing, Woods' race was widely considered "unwinnable" by party officials, who gave her meager support compared to the flood of contributions Republicans poured into Danforth's campaign.

As the general election drew near polls showed Woods getting stronger, and the party hierarchy became believers. As it turned out, they rallied with too little, too late—half of Woods' \$1.25 million campaign chest came in during the final two weeks of the campaign. Defeated by only 26,247 vote—1.7 percent of voter turnout—Woods became the first female candidate in Missouri history to garner more than a million votes. But her near-

miss was taken hard by many women, who held the party's tepid support responsible for her loss and vowed not to let it happen again.

The gender gap seemed to be their bargaining chip, as feminist leaders saw themselves exacting support for female candidates in exchange for the women's vote. Though party support hasn't yet materialized the way many had hoped, women are using perceived political advantages to seek office, building on their own triumphs and mistakes.

In 1984, the lessons learned from the Woods-Danforth contest may make the difference for many women candidates, Woods, in her bid for Missouri's Lieutenant Governorship, among them. Marcia Kerz, Woods' campaign manager for her current race, says, "The lesson that was learned is that fundraising is a critical part of the campaign, and that it must begin early and in earnest."

But the candidates can't do it by themselves. Groups of women across the country concerned with their political futures realize this, and many have joined together to organize networks to raise and distribute funds for women candidates. While most of these are small informal alliances, the three largest of these non-partisan political action committees

(PACs) are the National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) and the Women's Campaign Fund (WCF).

Organized specifically to elect "qualified progressive women of both parties to public office at every level," according to the WCF statement of purpose, these women's PACs are still extremely limited in both resources and influence.

One of the smaller, more loosely knit networks is EMILY, whose purpose is to address the particular difficulty women candidates face in attracting resources at the critical start-up stage. The group, whose acronym stands for Early Money Is Like Yeast, has provided crucial support for several women candidates in national races. While fundraising does get easier as endorsements and party support solidify, the trouble women have raising the kind of money needed to mount viable campaigns remains a much-lamented, nearly universal handicap of female political aspirants at every stage of their candidacies.

The difficulty can only in part be traced to women's limited access to established financial networks. A more salient explanation lies in the kind of contest for which women usually win nominations—those that are the least "winnable." In

this category are challenges to popular incumbents and races in which the rival party has the voter registration edge. According to the Center for the American Woman and Politics (CAWP), 90 percent of female congressional candidates challenge incumbents, who, regardless of gender, are re-elected 90 percent of the time. With the odds stacked so formidably against women challengers, their low numbers in Congress come as no surprise.

Women currently make up only 5 percent of the House of Representatives and hold just two Senate seats, yet these figures show a significant increase in female representation since 1970. In that year, only 13 women who ran for the House were elected; in contrast, by 1982, 22 of the 55 women who ran won seats.

Unfortunately, this upward trend in House victories for women has not spread to the Senate, where high-prestige seats are only attained by the most competitive office-seekers. This election year, 11 of the 12 female candidates for U.S. Senate seats will, if they win their primaries, face extremely difficult races. Ten will oppose male incumbents, and one—GOP right-to-life activist Dr. Mildred Jefferson—will run in heavily Democratic Massachusetts for the seat of retiring Sen. Paul Tsongas. The one incumbent of the 12, Kansas Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, should coast easily to re-election.

Likely Senate victors.

Although three of the half-dozen Democratic women pursuing Senate seats must overcome significant primary opposition before securing party nominations, oddly enough it is two not-yet-nominated women—Minnesota Secretary of State Joan Growe and Colorado Lt. Gov. Nancy Dick—who are considered most likely to win in November.

While women's PAC members believe she could well become the first Democratic woman elected to the U.S. Senate in her own right, (rather than to replace a deceased spouse), Growe has confronted a great deal of pessimism within the party regarding her viability. Observed Growe in a January 24 *Washington Post* article: "I think part of the difficulty women have in running for public office is that they have to do everything twice as well before they can get recognition."

Like many other female candidates, Growe has often felt the pressure of a double standard, especially when her campaign financing came under scrutiny by the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) leadership. Because incumbent Sen. Rudy Boschwitz, the millionaire owner of Plywood Minnesota, is expected to spend up to \$5 million on his campaign, he will easily outfinance whoever his DFL opponent turns out to be. Among the DFLers, though, Growe put to rest concerns about her ability to generate funds when she outraised even her most formidable male opponent, U.S. Rep. James Oberstar, by the end of '83.

Poised for the state endorsing convention June 15-17, Growe remains slightly ahead of Oberstar in fundraising and significantly ahead in delegate support. About 40 percent of Minnesota's 1,220 delegates are behind Growe, versus about 24 percent for Oberstar. The other two candidates share 21 percent, with 15 percent uncommitted.

Wooing these uncommitted delegates, of which one-third to one-half reportedly are part of a pro-life plank, Oberstar emphasizes his stand favoring a constitutional amendment banning abortion.

Growe, on the other hand, supports what she calls "a clean ERA" without riders, and she rejects all restrictions on federal funding for abortions, asserting that such health care cannot be restricted only to those who can afford it. Despite the Growe campaign's plans to focus on the "main issues" of Boschwitz' military spending and foreign policy issues, the reproductive rights issue will likely be

bs" to Savvy Professionals

boosted to the forefront of the convention debate, where anti-abortion activists, who comprise a large and zealous minority in the DFL, will attempt to block her nomination.

Like Growe, Colorado Lt. Gov. Dick, the other Senate contender whose prospects appear promising, was not given early support by her party. Had the Democrats consolidated support behind Dick after her July 1983 announcement, Carlos Lucero might not have entered the race, and the intra-party battle now sapping crucial money and energy from the campaign might have been avoided. Instead though, writes Bella Abzug in her book *Gender Gap*, "Rather than jumping in firmly behind Dick's candidacy, the Democratic leadership kept trying...to persuade Democratic Governor Dick Lamm to run for the Senate seat, despite his repeated disavowals of interest in the contest. Had he changed his mind, Nancy Dick presumably would have been expected to bow out gracefully in deference to the male candidate."

Dick's campaign manager, Len Rose-Avila, did say the campaign has been tougher because Dick is a woman, though he didn't blame the party's pursuit of Lamm. "In raising money and in raising votes, a woman has to do twice as much to get half as much," he said.

Despite the fact that Democratic Party leaders rank the Colorado Senate race and the defeat of Armstrong as "one of the top five" in national priority, the party does not endorse candidates in the pre-primary season, and Colorado will be no exception. Because Colorado is one of the states with a later primary, Dick's race could be added to the list of near-misses that might have been victories had money and support come earlier.

Oregon state Sen. Margie Hendriksen had an early primary that she won handily, allowing her plenty of time to gear up for the difficult contest she will wage in November. Hendriksen is challenging the extremely popular three-term incumbent Sen. Mark Hatfield, whose liberal voting record on defense and foreign policy issues was given a 100 percent rating in the 1983 Baron Report. His 80 percent rating on social issues keeps him securely in his party's liberal camp, leaving him vulnerable to attack only on his support of Reaganomics; his Baron rating in the area of economic policy dropped to 31 percent. Hendriksen, whose legislative terms in the state house and senate were spent liberalizing divorce laws and establishing "comparable worth" legislation, will attack Hatfield both for his 1981 votes for President Reagan's economic package and his opposition to abortion.

While Hendriksen says she is running to win this race, to many it looks like yet another in the long tradition of women running as "sacrificial lambs." Some suspect she has other plans altogether—that she is challenging Hatfield in order to increase her name recognition around the state and build contacts in the party to set her on track for a 1986 challenge to the more conservative and less popular Sen. Bob Packwood.

If that's true, it sets her apart from the traditional "sacrificial" race, explained CAWP Director Ruth Mandel. Mandel believes that Hendriksen's decision involved some calculated risks: "Here you see something different from her trying to be a 'good girl' for the party.... Margie Hendriksen is in that emerging group of political women who are building political careers. The old image of the 'sacrificial lamb' is not to build a career for herself, but to serve the party, to do her duty. Margie's race is different."

Thus women involved in many of the more difficult races this year seem to be running with different objectives and goals in mind than did their foremothers. Joining Hendriksen among these women who run, in Mandel's words, "to strengthen their bases and enhance their political futures," are New Mexico's Judy

Pratt and Maine's Libby Mitchell.

• State Rep. Judy Pratt, the first to announce against powerful GOP Sen. Pete Domenici, won the Democratic nomination in New Mexico's June 5 primary by at least 10 percent, according to early returns. Challenged for the nomination by former state party boss Nick Franklin, Pratt set up a grassroots organization to compensate for his support among party regulars.

Now with both organizations solidly behind her, Pratt will have the resources necessary to attack someone of Domenici's stature. Pratt contends that "Domenici's stands are indefensible on almost every issue," among these his opposition to a nuclear weapons freeze and his support of the Reagan administration cuts in social services. Having studied Chicago Mayor Harold Washington's successful targeted voter-registration drives, Pratt believes that such an effort in New Mexico, which has only 500,000 registered voters, could earn Domenici's seat. He won in his last race by a mere 23,000 votes.

• If the new political woman of the '80s is a risk-taker, Maine House Majority leader Libby Mitchell fits the bill. Foregoing the extensive support she was expected to receive from labor, peace, environmental and women's groups, she spurned all PAC contributions to her campaign. While members of her party hailed her pledge as a courageous but risky move, most realize that the majority of PAC money is lavished on incumbents anyway. Her decision to make an issue of it was a calculated maneuver that might just turn the liability of her outsider status into an advantage.

In the House.

While open seats in the Senate are rare and a woman's shot at them rarer yet, in the House, seats are vacated far more frequently as members leave to pursue higher office. In the Senate, 29 of the 33 senators elected in '78 are seeking re-election this year. Four leave open seats.

In the House, on the other hand, 26 of the 435 seats are open, and of these 26, nine are sought by women. With filing deadlines still open in many states, and primaries still ahead for many candidates, the number of women running is likely to change before November. But the current tally shows a record 93 women entered in House races. Of these, 45 are Republicans and nine of them are incumbents, as are 12 of the 48 Democrats. Interestingly, the Democrats, who have dubbed themselves the party of women, have nominated women in only three of the "good-odds" races for open seats, which has made some women call the Democrats' commitment mere lip service.

Of the 22 women incumbents in the House, all of whom sought re-election, only two—Katie Hall and Cardiss Collins—faced any significant primary chal-

lenge. Both represent urban, Midwestern districts, both were originally boosted into office by their city's Democratic Party machines and both are black—the only two black women currently seated in the U.S. House. While Hall's campaign was about race in a way Collins' was not, both congresswomen's minority status seemed to make them appear ripe for challenge.

Collins won her race; Hall lost hers. Since minority incumbents aren't considered the shoo-ins that white incumbents are, their already low numbers could drop as easily as increase. According to CAWP reports, minority women now total less than 1 percent of all elected officials. With Hall's defeat, their numbers in Congress just dropped by 50 percent.

The House contest receiving most national attention is Jane Wells Schooley's challenge to three-term GOP Rep. Don Ritter. The race for the 15th district seat has been targeted by both the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and House Speaker Tip O'Neill as among the top priorities across the country. Having received national support because of her political background as a NOW vice president, Wells Schooley's unexpectedly strong showing against a field of five male opponents further increased her visibility and nation-wide interest in her race.

Wells Schooley won by a margin of two to one over the second highest vote-getter, Gene Knopf, in every geographic

area—in the urban centers, in suburbia and in rural segments of the district, according to campaign press secretary Diane Cromer. While Cromer claimed Wells Schooley's win did not take her by surprise, she acknowledged that "the size of the victory in a race where four of the six candidates were very serious" bodes well for Wells Schooley's chances in the general election against the conservative Ritter.

Cromer notes that 7-10 percent more women than men voted in the April primary. If such a gender gap repeats itself in the general election it could give Wells Schooley an added boost. Tracing the progress of the Wells Schooley campaign, Cromer says, "When we first announced on January 5, we were called the 'radical feminist' candidate. Then by

February we were called the 'front-runner,' which was just as scary.

Four other House races seem well suited to exploit the gender gap, featuring liberal women facing conservative opponents in states where women have a voter-registration edge. In one other reputed "gender gap" race in North Carolina, County Commissioner Susan Green lost to lawyer D.G. Martin in a run-off for the 9th district seat.

• Former Utah state Sen. Frances Farley may do this year what she came closer to doing in '82 than even her staunchest supporters could have hoped: break into the exclusively male, exclusively Republican Utah congressional delegation as its 2nd district representative. Although her district is the most Democratic of the state's three, Farley cannot afford to be so open about her positions on women's issues as is Wells Schooley, for instance. According to NOW's Riva Seybolt, on Farley's latest trip to Washington, "we stayed clear of her at her request because NOW support won't do her much good in her district." Despite this, all three non-partisan women's PACs support her.

Though conservative Utah voters traditionally vote Republican, Farley garnered 46.2 percent of the vote in her last race when she narrowly lost to Rep. Dan Marriott, who not only had incumbency but gender and religion going for him, according to her campaign manager John Becker. Of that contest Becker said, "Being a Democrat, a non-Mormon and a challenger, [Farley's] showing stumped people." Farley notes that her previous race gave her "a recipe for my '84 campaign," this time for an open seat—access to a computer printout of voting districts, telling her where she must campaign the hardest.

Farley, who made a name for herself leading a successful fight against the basing of MX missiles in Utah's deserts, has an unheard-of 95 percent name recognition throughout the state. As Seybolt says, "If a liberal Democrat can win in Utah, it's Frances Farley."

• Once exploring a bid to challenge GOP Sen. Gordon Humphrey, whose seat Democrats consider winnable, Executive Councilor Dudley Dudley was passed over in favor of U.S. Rep. Norm D'Amours. Dudley, the highest ranking woman and highest ranking Democrat in New Hampshire state government, instead announced her candidacy for the 1st district seat D'Amours will vacate. Having received endorsements from most major local unions, and of public interest PACs including Friends of the Earth, SANE, NARAL and other women's PACs, Dudley must win her September 11 primary against state Rep. James J. Demers, the 27-year-old assistant minority whip, before going on to the general election.

With support for the nuclear freeze at close to 70 percent in New Hampshire, Dudley will tailor her campaign to emphasize her stands on defense issues, stressing her opposition to the nuclear arms race. Demers, the more conservative of the two, supports MX construction and the continued basing of Pershing and cruise missiles in Europe, both stands Dudley strongly opposes. None of her three potential GOP rivals supports a nuclear freeze.

• Emerging victorious with 41 percent of the vote over three male primary opponents, Oregon state Sen. Ruth McFarland won a chance to reverse a bare defeat in her 1982 race against incumbent Denny Smith. McFarland's liberal voting record in the Oregon senate, to which she was elected in 1980, helped solidify the coalition of women's groups, peace groups and environmentalists that backed her '82 bid. In that race, with an underfunded and unstable organization, McFarland came within 2.4 percent of arch-conservative Smith.

Smith, it seems, will have trouble hold-

Continued on page 24



Former Utah State Sen. Frances Farley is running for the 2nd C.D. seat.

Waters

Continued from page 15

en right now, what is it about Jesse Jackson that is better than Mondale or Hart right now. They used traditional ways of evaluating. The question was, do you make the decision that Mondale's record looks better—Jesse doesn't have a voting record, he hasn't been anywhere to vote—or do you say, where are we going in this women's movement and what do we need to do to build strength and make a coalition that defeats the people that keep women down? It's a tough decision. If I was directing NOW, I would not have endorsed anyone that early, first of all. But I would have been looking at what a long-term interest might be. I don't buy this business about access to the president. If you're powerful enough, they'll see you, I don't care who the president is. They did want to say, "We were in early for a candidate, we made a difference," and I understand that.

But deeper than that, they could not answer for themselves whether or not Jesse Jackson was the feminist they wanted him to be, and they were not going to go out on a limb, and say this is our candidate. Jesse's position on freedom of choice has evolved. There was a time when he was against it, and he still says he would not choose it for himself, which makes feminists very uncomfortable. The issues that he talks about concerning women are mostly the plight of the single parent family and the welfare mother. And those concerns have basically been patronized by feminists.

Now we have the feminization of poverty—we even had to change names. Welfare mothers have been out there for years saying, "Look at us. We're poor. Something's wrong. We don't get enough money to feed these kids." But now, we as feminists have finally recognized there's this other whole group of women, but instead of leaving it in the language

that these women on the front lines used, we say the feminization of poverty.

What I'm trying to say is, Jesse Jackson is good for women from his own perspective. Mondale is good on women from another perspective, and that is the one the women's movement—basically white, middle-class women—uses to evaluate candidates. Jesse Jackson truly does not see freedom of choice as the number one issue, and most of the women's movement does. His priorities would be the right for poor women to eat, to have a place to lie down.

But isn't the organized women's movement getting more sensitive to these economic issues?

They talk about it. They're aware that they missed the boat early on, and I think there are a lot of feminist women who want very much to highlight poor women's issues and bring them into organized feminist politics. But it hasn't happened yet. I hope that it doesn't happen through confrontation. The women that Jesse Jackson takes to the convention could say to the feminists, "Uh-uh, I don't want to be your friend now, I don't want to talk about coalition now, not one of you saw my candidate as someone you could endorse or support. I don't want to talk to you at the convention."

Do you see that happening?

Maybe. If women had gone into that convention having made sure that no candidate got anything without sitting down with them there, they could have catapulted the women's movement 20 years into the future. Now, it's stupid. We'll get to the convention and there will be a woman's caucus that'll get together to put pressure on somebody to pick a woman vice president, and they're not going to have the support of minority women. The Vice Presidential Project has already called the Jackson campaign and said they just want to sit down and dialog, which is good, but there's a lot of bitterness among women of color who support Jesse. They don't understand why no white feminists for the most part supported him.

How can white feminists deal with that now?

They have to have a different kind of attitude to overcome some of this hostility. I don't know what the formulas are. I do know that the opportunity for the coalition was missed, and the time to put it back together is not the convention.

When is it?

I think it has to be after the convention. I think minority women only feel that an attempt for coalition there is an attempt to use them. Or what if we get to the convention and start discussing a woman vice president, and Shirley Chisholm or Eleanor Holmes Norton's name came up? I bet white women wouldn't be able to accept that. And then black women would really go crazy.

Is that a possibility?

Yes. I think so.

Do you have an analysis of what the gender gap is about?

By now women should be furious because of the way we've been treated. Sexism is taught and fostered in every institution in our society, in the church, the school, even the family—the one environment that supposedly protects you fosters sexism. Our sons are taught to discriminate against girls, our chores are divided in a way that women are taught to be subservient to men, to want to be accepted by them. Women should be crazy about what has happened to us. It might not be so bad if it just made you feel bad. But now it absolutely determines whether you're going to eat, to have a decent life. Every time I find it in a different way, I'm amazed myself. In committee the other day Sen. Ellis, a conservative—God bless them, they do good things for women out of chauvinism sometimes—brought a bill so that when a house goes into escrow, unpaid child support goes into escrow like other debts do—so when escrow pays off, mothers get paid. But all the escrow companies came in and said—we don't want this. We don't know if the amount is really owed. It's too difficult. The guy who testified against it said, "It puts other creditors at

a disadvantage in collecting their money." And I said, "Who has more right to collect than a starving child and his poorass mother? How dare you come in and interfere with a woman who owes her landlord and owes other bills?" I see this all the time. It's everywhere you look.

What can women learn from your political career, especially your work with black women and poor people as a constituency?

I think everyone has to find their own way and come to grips with who they are. If you don't have a sense of person and a philosophy born out of that, you're in trouble—then you'll be busy doing what's right for the moment, what's expedient, what works with someone else. I'm passionate, I know how I feel about almost everything, and I like it that way. I don't have to take bills and analyze them to the nth degree to know how to vote—I have a philosophy of life. I believe in equal opportunity. I believe you shouldn't rip people off. I believe in fairness. You can't compromise principle.

The masses of people don't ask for much. Most people want a decent quality of life, and deserve to have it. They want to know where their next meal is coming from, and that they will have a roof over their heads and have their health needs met. They deserve that.

How do you advance those interests as chair of the Democratic caucus?

As chair of the Democratic caucus, the only thing I can do is continue to be me. I am not going to change the world through legislation that gets watered down as it traverses the process and ends up on the governor's desk not nearly what it started out to be. I use this legislative body as a platform and as a forum, to get my issues seen, heard and discussed. People either listen to me because I'm everywhere, or because I'm saying things that nobody else is saying or because I've somehow used the process to be identified in such a way that makes people listen to me—if only to ask: "How did she get there?" ■

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GENDERGAP

By Jo Freeman

SONIA JOHNSON, RUNNING FOR the Citizens Party's presidential nomination, recently became the first third-party candidate ever to qualify for presidential primary matching funds. Eligibility requires raising at least \$5,000 in each of 20 states in personal contributions of \$250 or less. The campaign has raised more than \$100,000 since it began last October, but not all of that is matchable.

Although several of the other presidential candidates claim to be feminists and all claim to be working for women's best interests, Sonia Johnson is the only one articulating a radical feminist philosophy. In her Oct. 24, 1983 campaign announcement she said, "We must make clear to the world that the oppression of women lies at the core of our present dilemma; that it is the archetypal oppression upon which all other oppressions—racism, imperialism, colonialism, war—are modeled. In learning to dominate women, [men] developed a conquistador mentality...."

She continued, "I have agreed to run for president because someone must say that only in a massive global revolution in the status of women is there hope for the survival of the planet and the human species."

Johnson first came to public prominence in 1978 when she testified at Senate subcommittee hearings on extension of the deadline for ratification of the ERA and clashed with Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-UT). As a founder of Mormons for the ERA, she soon came into conflict with her church, which officially opposed the amendment. She was excommunicated in December 1979. At the same time her husband divorced her, leaving her with responsibility for raising their four children. In October 1982, Johnson ran for the presidency of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and received 40 percent of the vote.

A few months later, Citizens Party Executive Committee member Marsha Marshall spotted Johnson on a plane and asked her if she would consider running for president. Her initial reaction was negative, but she did agree to look for an appropriate feminist candidate. She couldn't find one, so after several more Citizens Party members urged her to run, she agreed to consider it and to speak at their September 1983 national convention.

The Citizens Party was founded in 1980 as a "national progressive political party committed to nuclear disarmament, full employment, environmental protection, equal rights and economic democracy." It nominated Barry Commoner and LaDonna Harris as its presidential ticket that year. They got on the ballot in 30 states and received 230,000 votes. Since then the party has run 255 local campaigns in 26 states with 16 victories.

Prior to the 1983 convention several party members, particularly Commoner, urged the party not to run a presidential campaign in 1984. They thought the party should support Jesse Jackson's candidacy for the nomination of the Democratic Party and otherwise concentrate on local elections. Those who favored a national campaign discussed the availability of the nomination with former Rep. Shirley Chisholm, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Atlanta City Councilmember and former SNCC chair John Lewis.

Chisholm opted to support Jackson (who voted for McGovern at the 1972 Democratic Convention where Chisholm was a presidential candidate). Lewis and Clark agreed to give speeches at the convention, but subsequently decided not to run. While both have remained supporters of the Citizens Party, Lewis flirted with the Cranston campaign before becoming a Mondale delegate to the Democratic Convention from Georgia, and Clark is working for Jackson in New York.

Johnson also said she would not run after several party members responded negatively to the strongly feminist content of



CITIZENS PARTY

Johnson: a radical feminist challenge

her convention speech. She told the convention that she was "shocked by the condescension" and "incredibly sexist" comments she received. She thought the Citizens Party was a "good progressive group" but wasn't ready for radical feminism. After she returned home, dozens of party members, both men and women, phoned to persuade her to change her mind. The negativism, they said, came from those who didn't want a national campaign.

One of those who liked Johnson's speech and urged her to run was Dick Walton, author of several books on foreign policy, co-chair of the Rhode Island Citizens Party and member of the National Committee. Johnson wanted him to be her vice-presidential candidate, but most of her supporters within the party thought Ramsey Clark would be preferable. When he declined, leaving the way open for Walton to join the ticket, Johnson was not unhappy. Clark has not been known as a friend of feminists since he ran in the 1976 New York Democratic

primary for Senate. Bella Abzug and many others believe that he took enough votes away from her to give Patrick Moynihan the nomination and the election.

Another of Johnson's supporters within the Citizens Party was Judith Enck, a lobbyist in Albany, N.Y., for an environmental group. She had been a Citizens Party organizer for several years and had run for city council as one of its first candidates. She gave up her job to move to Arlington, Va., and manage the campaign on subsistence wages. Enck says that the campaign is active in about 35 states. She estimates that about 60 percent of the campaign's funds and supporters come from feminists, and about 40 percent from Citizens Party members. Groups concerned with Central America and the freeze are also major sources of support.

Johnson's candidacy has attracted a wide range of feminists. They include University of Maryland professor Barbara Bergman, chair of the Committee on the Status of Women in the Economic

Presidential hopeful Sonia Johnson

Profession and former board member of the Women's Equity Action League. After hearing Johnson speak, Bergman wrote her a sizable check, saying, "She even energized and inspired an old cynic like me." Gloria Steinem and five other feminist authors have signed a major fundraising letter.

In addition to NOW members, Enck said the campaign has attracted many active in the women's peace movement and radical feminists who had written off electoral politics, like lesbian activists Julie Ainslie, fresh out of Beloit College, and Maggee Harritz, 40, neither of whom has ever worked on a campaign before. In some ways the Johnson campaign is doing for alienated women what Jackson is doing for alienated blacks.

According to Wendy Adler, national director of the Citizens Party, Johnson's campaign has also had a major effect on the party, even though she will not be its official nominee until after its August national convention. Since the campaign began, party membership has gone from less than half to more than 65 percent women, with at least 2,000 new members. Johnson supporters have formed new chapters in 13 states or areas where none existed before. Several were organized by NOW members.

Although the Citizens Party has not heretofore emphasized women's issues or articulated a radical feminist philosophy, both Adler and Johnson feel there is no incompatibility. Johnson says that all issues are women's issues and that she draws upon the Citizens Party platforms for her speeches.

She argues that "all violence in the world has its roots in violence against women" and that "our strongest defense is not military but instead is the new feminist mind (as opposed to the old, rapist, military mind) that can envision a world without war." While she is not an adherent of any social system, Johnson rejects capitalism because it "depends for success...on women's being the crypto-servant class." She is working on a series of policy proposals based on what she says are the three key values of female culture: non-violence, cooperation and nurturance.

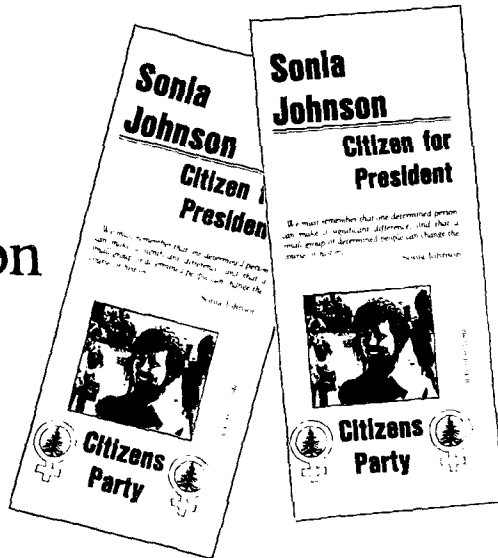
Johnson has discussed her positions with both staff and the executive committee and asserts that no one from the Citizens Party has complained about the content of her public statements except for a few who feel she is too tame. "The people I'm meeting are very, very good about these issues, including the men."

Johnson is also a candidate for the nomination of the California Peace and Freedom Party, which has a permanent place on that state's ballot that the Citizens Party lacks. She has also been approached by the Socialist Party, which has discussed running a unity campaign with the Citizens Party. While she is amenable to endorsement, she emphasizes that she is not a socialist. (Neither is the Citizens Party, though there are socialists in it. It compares itself to the Green Party of West Germany). Johnson believes that "socialism, communism and capitalism are all part of the patriarchal order" and thus have no answers for women. "Feminism explains it all for me," she says. "Socialist feminism is a contradiction in terms."

Johnson says she could run with a socialist endorsement even though she is not a socialist because "alternative parties are anti-system parties—formed in opposition to the establishment." She would not run for the Democratic Party nomination because she believes it is "equally responsible with the Republican Party for keeping women down. The Democrats make us think there has been improvement to dull the edge of our radicalism, but the system never changes." Johnson views NOW's political activities as an attempt to co-opt the "great stream of the women's movement into becoming handmaidens of the Democratic Party."

Jo Freeman is the author of *The Politics of Women's Liberation* and editor of *Women: A Feminist Perspective*.

"Feminism explains it all for me," Johnson says. "Socialist feminism is a contradiction in terms."



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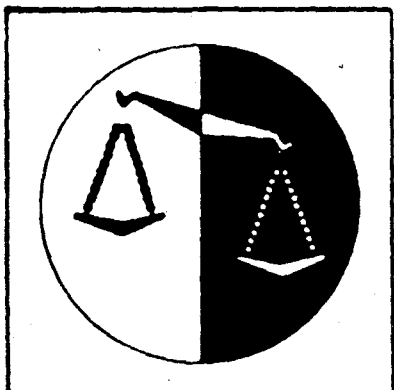
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IF WALTER MONDALE IS NOMINATED in July, no single act could more swiftly accomplish a change in his image and do more to restore the party's values and priorities than the selection of a woman for the vice presidency.

"If the 1984 Democratic presidential candidate were to select a woman as his running mate, his chances at the polls in November would be likely to be considerably enhanced," George Gallup said last fall. "Minorities, women and liberals favor a woman nominee for vice president in higher numbers than the national average, but in addition, such a move would make the entire Democratic ticket more attractive to key swing groups that Ronald Reagan won in 1980," says Louis Harris.

Despite the powerful case that can be made for the gender gap, it is nonetheless difficult to make an argument that a woman should be Mondale's running mate: "It's not going to happen," Gloria Steinem said recently, "because the party people, more than the candidates, see women as captive voters. They think the vice-presidency should be used to move toward the middle or the right. I've never thought that imitating your adversaries was a great way to defeat them, but that's the traditional way of thinking. Mondale, Hart and Jackson are more favorably disposed to it because they see the popular support. They understand that a major difference on the ticket would cause people to come out and vote, which is what we need. But I still don't think it will happen.... Frankly, at this point if there were a female vice president and something happened to the president, I think they'd change the line of succession."

While the major women's organizations all offer rhetorical support to the idea of a woman vice president, few of the leaders push very hard. "It drives me crazy," says Dotty Lynch, Gary Hart's pollster, and one of the most respected women in professional politics. "All they do is keep wringing their hands and saying, 'But what if we lost?'"

Five women are often mentioned as potential candidates for vice president on the Democratic ticket. Four are members of the House: Geraldine Ferraro of Queens; Patricia Schroeder of Denver; Barbara Mikulski of Baltimore; and Lindy Boggs of New Orleans. The fifth is Dianne Feinstein, mayor of San Francisco. Ferraro and Schroeder seem to be the most politically viable.

Geraldine Ferraro.

Geraldine Ferraro, 48, is married and the mother of three children, in her third term in the House, member of the Budget and Public Works Committees, and chairwoman of the Democratic Platform Committee. She has been called "a bridge between the new and the old politics, between the feminists and the organization Democrats." Ferraro played a key role in the Hunt Commission, which changed party rules and saw reassertion of power by party professionals over grassroots Democrats. She calls Tip O'Neill and her husband "the two men in my life," and balances a pro-choice stance with support of tuition tax credits for private schools.

Should we be supporting the contras in Nicaragua?

I was down in Central America in January. I had voted against covert aid in Nicaragua and against additional military aid to El Salvador, and I went down there to see whether or not I was doing the right thing. When I got finished I was convinced, first of all, that I was right and, second, that we're supporting the losing side in both El Salvador and Nicaragua. And third, that it's not only wasting taxpayers' money, but we should attempt to figure out another way to solve the problems in that region. I will vote against covert aid [to overthrow] Nicaragua.

What about the Soviet and Cuban influence in Nicaragua?



Pat Schroeder would rather be Secretary of Defense.

WOMAN V.P.

"No one has run for vice president"

The Cuban influence is there, no doubt about it. The Russian? I have a little bit of difficulty with that.

My feeling is that even if they were overthrown, the Sandinistas would eventually create a counterrevolutionary force and you would continue to have turmoil—that you would have one group overthrowing another and it would go on for years.

You don't think Nicaragua is a Cuban or Soviet satellite?

No. I don't. They are a Marxist government. There is no doubt about that. I think our problem is, frankly, that we expect it to be a democracy the way we define democracy, and I don't think that's possible.

What about El Salvador?

The problem that we have in El Salvador is that there the guerrillas are winning. I don't know what kind of government

"Women keep wringing their hands and saying, 'But what if we lost,'" says pollster Dotty Lynch. "It drives me crazy."

would evolve if the guerrillas overthrew the Salvadoran government. I don't think the Salvadoran government is totally corrupt, I really don't. I think their actions with reference to human rights are very acute. If they would only get their act together, then they might be able to deal with other things that are of concern to them, namely, agrarian reform and all the other problems.

What would you do in El Salvador?

I think I would insist that the U.S. government let the people know that we expect them to get their own act together, within their own units, to put someone in charge of the government. And probably the most important thing is that they do something about the amount of killing that is going on there.... I would exert pressure on them to clean up their act or they'd be without economic aid.

Do you support the MX?

No. I've supported research and development. I have not supported deployment because it's destabilizing.

In the Mideast, what is your view of the Israeli settlements on the West Bank?

Israelis have very legitimate claims. There are a lot of Palestinians who are living on that land. That's Israel. The Israelis recognize that they have to do something about the people who are indigenous there. They are wrestling with how to deal with the problem of Palestinian refugees. They aren't suggesting throwing them off the land. They are suggesting citizenship in Jordan. But that is something those people should deal with.

And the Israeli invasion of Lebanon?

I want to tell you something. I went there this past April. I didn't realize how small it was. Those people in Israel have real legitimate claims. When you have people sitting on your border, doing the things that the PLO was doing in Lebanon, I

think personally that they were protecting themselves, and I would do the same thing.

Why haven't women been more active, more visible in this election? Why haven't the women's groups put up a candidate for the vice-presidency?

No woman would declare herself as a vice-presidential candidate. No one has run for vice president. We're not dumb politically. There is no way we would do it other than as it has been done all along. Women, nonetheless, have been registering in great numbers. We don't have a female candidate, but we sure as hell have three male candidates who are articulate on the issues that are important to women.

Do you think a woman on the ticket would be a plus?

Of course I think a woman on the ticket would be a plus!

But do you think a woman on the ticket would make it easier to win the election?

A lot of it is going to depend on what happens by July. That is just another piece that will be considered in what is necessary to beat Ronald Reagan. If you need a senator from Texas who has a certain constituency of business people, and if they feel that's where the particular candidate is lacking, they will go for a person who fulfills those qualities.

Pat Schroeder.

Patricia Schroeder of Denver, 43, married, mother of two teenagers, in her sixth term in the House, member of the Armed Forces, Judiciary and Post Office Committees. Good friend of Gary Hart and vice-chair of his campaign, she is a strong critic of defense spending, questions troop commitments to Europe and opposes the draft. She is a vigorous supporter of Israel. A leading feminist in Congress, Schroeder is combative and independent. In contrast to Ferraro, Schroeder is an outsider. She doesn't like power brokers, whom she calls "little cave men."

"The hardest thing here is the pressure for a woman to be one of the boys—to want the same power to push people around," she has said. "We've got to fight not to become mini Maggie Thatcher."

How would you differ from Reagan on Nicaragua?

It seems to me that for so long we have ignored Central America. We only pay attention to them when there is a struggle. We have backed all sorts of regimes that we shouldn't have backed, and then, when something like Nicaragua happens, we howl, "Isn't this terrible! A Communist foothold!" Yet we isolate them so they have nowhere to go but to Cuba and other Communist countries. I've been down there, I can't believe the inconsistency of our policy. When the revolution in Nicaragua was going on, anyone who came up here was immediately declared a refugee. No one from El Salvador is declared a refugee. They are sent back, and heaven only knows what is in store for them. So I shake my head and wonder.

What about the ground troops in Honduras?

I certainly would scale it down. I would say to the Contadora countries, what should we do? How do we scale this thing down now that we're here? How do we get our aid directly to the people? That's the biggest problem.

If the guerrillas should win in El Salvador, would you do business with them?

Of course.

Would you get the American troops and military advisers out of El Salvador?

You don't do it just by itself. You try to find something to fill the vacuum. I don't think you just walk away and wash your hands and say, we're now isolationists. I think the way to do it is to turn to the Contadora countries and say, we went in solo without consulting you first, and now we've got a problem. We've got advisors, we've got troops in Honduras, we've got contras going crazy that we're funding. Tell us how we scale down and out and come back in a more constructive way. If I were president, I would say that

Continued on following page

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we don't do anything unilaterally.

Would you recognize Cuba?

I don't have any qualms. There is a country, and there is a man running the country; that to me is the international basis of recognition. The rest of this stuff is crazy.

Do you think defense spending can be substantially cut?

Sure.

By how much?

Well, Edward Markey and I introduced a bill that says you freeze it at this year's level. That's still an incredible increase. They wanted a 26 percent increase over this year! We talked the Armed Services Committee into lowering it to 15 percent.

What do you think of Jackson's campaign?

Oh, I think it's been wonderful. If you look at 1964, Barry Goldwater got the same percentage of eligible voters that Reagan got in 1980. The reason Goldwater lost and Ronald Reagan won is the people who dropped out of the process—in massive numbers. Jackson is pulling them back into the process; he's saying, "You have an investment in this government."

Do you see any evidence that he's energized women in the same way he has energized blacks?

To some extent. I think maybe when he discusses peace. Both Hart and Mondale are good on women's issues, too, so it's not like there is a clear choice. But my guess is, on the peace issue he does attract some.

It seems to me that blacks, through Jackson, have really taken a leadership role, forging new ground. Women, who everyone thought last year would be doing this, have remained in the background.

I think women made some basic mistakes. I'll probably get killed for saying this, but my plea to the leadership of the different women's groups was not to worry about the presidential candidates, because any of the three are fine on these

issues. Where women had to make a difference was in the Senate. We got beat once again on the ERA, by six votes. We got beat up on fairness in insurance. We're getting beat up every day on Title IX and everything else—so target those people. Get women candidates out there and go on that level.

Why haven't women done more in running candidates for the Senate?

We've barely done it in the House. New York to me was very depressing, to see the things that NOW was doing.... They were handing out all this stuff just trashing Hart. You would have thought Hart was Jesse Helms—how his hair was combed—you wouldn't have believed it, it was like a junior high slam book. You thought, what is this? Betty Friedan and all of them were out there. I kept getting calls—come up here and debate them. I thought, why? That is demeaning. Women should not be out here saying my presidential candidate is 3 percentage points better than your candidate. Ronald Reagan is the disaster, and half the members of Congress are a disaster. That's where the effort should go.

Does it make a real difference politically whether there is a female vice-presidential candidate?

It depends on who it is. I think the women understand that it is probably not the key issue. It is very symbolic. As a feminist, I have a lot of trouble with saying that what we really want is the second job. It seems to me that we should run for president. What if the blacks hadn't run Jesse Jackson? If they just said, we want a black vice president? I think that is the first thing that goes on in any feminist's head, and the second thing is that the issues are so bloody important this time.

Let's say Mondale's at the top of the ticket.

Then I have to say that Mondale's problem is the West. This party has got to go west. Who can you find who would help bring the West back into the fold? The South is an important component.

Are there women who would bring the West in?

Well, early polls show that a woman on the ticket would help the ticket in the West by about 20 points.

What about yourself?

Well, I'm working for Gary Hart.

If push came to shove?

You mean if Mondale got the nomination? I'd rather be secretary of defense.

Couldn't twist your arm?

You really have to look at it, and you really have to see.... Mondale would have to start through the list, and probably Gary is at the top.

Do you think Mondale can win?

No.

In this election most Democratic politicians argue privately there is no need to nominate a woman. They believe women will vote for the Democrats anyway, so why throw the candidacy away? The Democratic leaders are far more worried about how men will vote. They fear that Mondale is too much of a leftist sissy. He needs to be shored up by a "man's man," a Lloyd Bentsen with his sure ties to Texas money; or Bruce Babbitt, the neo-liberal governor of Arizona; Fritz Hollings or Dale Bumpers with their southern constituencies; or if dreams came true, Lee Iacocca, the Italian populist capitalist, demonstrating in one person that the Democratic Party is both the party of the people and of business.

Why waste the vice presidency on Ferraro, they argue, when New York will go Democratic anyway? If it's an ethnic that's needed, then Iacocca is the better candidate. If not Iacocca, then Mario Cuomo himself. As for Schroeder, who needs or wants Colorado?

And the argument continues, when you get down to a clever negative advertising campaign, which Reagan can be counted on to run, could any of the women mentioned this year stand the heat? Is Geraldine Ferraro—a three-term congresswoman who learned politics at the knee of Tip O'Neill, one of the most in-

effective Speakers in history—capable of running the nation? Is Patricia Schroeder, the combative, independent flake who buys groceries in Denver and carries them back to Washington, to be placed a heartbeat away from the presidency? Barbara Mikulski—a single woman whose radical feminism is so redolent of Marx and Freud? Lindy Boggs, the aging southern grand dame, living in the shadows of her late husband and her lobbyist son? As for Dianne Feinstein, from 3,000 miles away she looks like a female Spiro Agnew waiting to happen.


These are a few of the harsh reasons mentioned repeatedly within the party for not choosing a woman. In phone call after phone call over the last two weeks, male Democratic politicians dismissed the idea with a laugh.

The vice presidency is not just a symbol. It represents real power, a source of political patronage and an imposing presence in the Senate from which to argue the issues that the women's movement has brought forward: ERA, pay equity, the feminization of poverty and the environment. The victory of a woman vice president would be one of the most progressive steps in American history.

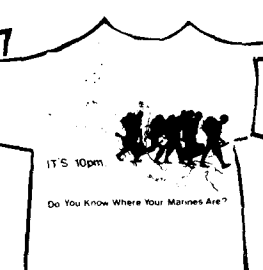
In a narrow sense a woman vice presidential candidate would give Mondale a new lease on life, equipping this transitional candidate with an entirely new image. Pat Schroeder, representing the Hart wing of the party, a westerner who is well-liked in the South and who, of the five, has by far the soundest understanding of foreign affairs, would probably strengthen a Mondale candidacy more than Ferraro. But just think of the difference of Mondale with either Schroeder or Ferraro versus Mondale with Bentsen or Hollings.

Beyond all this, women speak to the conscience of our time. They represent a movement that has so far managed to span class lines, that is based on a challenge to prevailing values. They have every reason to fight.


James Ridgeway is a staff writer for the *Village Voice*, where a version of this article appeared.




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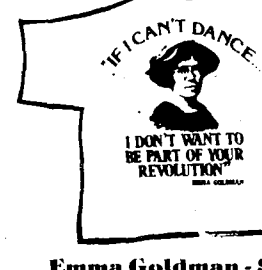
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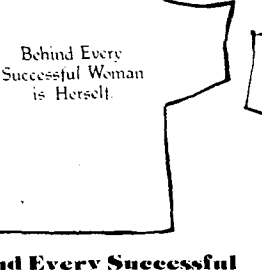
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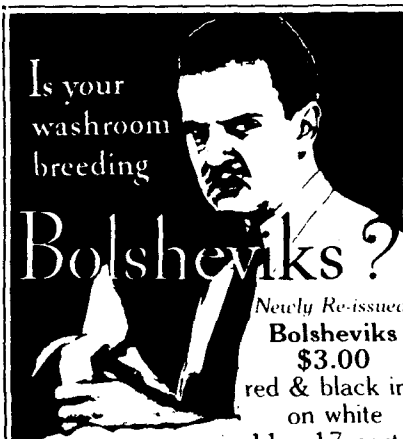
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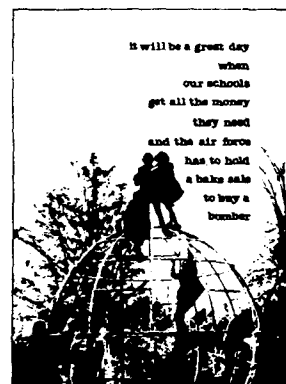
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| 12. Eat the Rich | 89. I Shall Continue to be an Impossible Person so long as those who are now possible remain possible — Bakunin |
| 16. Mutants for Nuclear Power | 95. Women Make Policy, Not Coffee |
| 18. I am a Shameless Agitator | 96. Every Mother is a Working Mother |
| 20. Minds are like Parachutes — They Only Function when Open | 98. My Karma ran over my Dogma |
| 23. Men of Quality Respect Women's Equality | 102. If you've seen one nuclear war you've seen them all (with 2 cockroaches and rubble graphic) |
| 38. God is Coming is She Pissed | 105. Coathanger with red slash (pro-choice) |
| 40. He's Pretty, But Can He Type? | 106. Teach Peace |
| 41. Women Hold Up Half the Sky | 107. You Can't Hug a Child with Nuclear Arms |
| 48. People Before Profits | 108. If The People Lead, Eventually the Leaders will Follow |
| 56. Go Reds — Smash State | 110. Military Intelligence is a Contradiction in Terms |
| 64. Sure, I'm A Marxist (see T-shirt graphic) | 111. I You Think the System is Working Ask Someone Who Isn't |
| 71. Wild Women Don't Get the Blues | 114. Nuke a Gay Whale for Christ |
| 72. We Are Everywhere | 116. Another KGB Dupe for Peace |
| 73. The Moral Majority is Neither | 117. El Salvador is Spanish for Vietnam |
| 74. U.S. Out of North America | 119. I Was Arrested for Peace |
| 83. Why do we kill people who kill people to show people that killing people is wrong? | |
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By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

LAST MARCH FAITH RYAN Whittlesey, the president's liaison to special interest groups, including women, spoke at the Conservative Political Action Conference in Washington. Whittlesey assured the participants that the president had told her that the Washington-based feminist organizations were "adjuncts of the Democratic Party," a judgment with which many conservatives as well as some feminists might concur.

But the next day presidential spokesman Larry Speakes went out of his way to repudiate Whittlesey. "I do not think her interpretation of what he said was faithfully rendered," Speakes declared.

The Whittlesey flap was another round in the year-long gender gap battle taking place among Republicans and conservatives. While some Republicans inside the administration and in Congress want the president to take bold steps to close the voting gap between men and women, Republican and New Right conservatives either deny the gap's existence or insist that it is really working to the president's advantage. They also fear that any concession on its behalf would weaken the Republicans' "pro-family" stance.

Civil rights bill.

The gender gap became a major issue in Washington after the 1982 elections, in which disproportionate female support for Democrats seemed to make possible Democratic victories in several key gubernatorial and one Senate race. In the wake of these Republican defeats, the administration and the Republican National Committee (RNC) moved to prevent further damage.

The administration's most visible step was the appointment last summer of the president's daughter Maureen Reagan as a consultant on women's issues. Maureen, an Equal Rights Amendment supporter, immediately angered conservatives by expressing sympathy with the complaints of Barbara Honegger, a Justice Department employee who resigned in protest over the department's neglect of women's rights.

The administration also set up a Working Group on Women, chaired by presidential aide Michael Deaver instead of the outspokenly anti-feminist Whittlesey, who was repeatedly pushed into the background and pressured to resign.

This spring, the Reagan campaign set up a Women for Reagan-Bush Organization, headed by Sonia Landau, a Corporation for Public Broadcasting vice-chair. It also promoted U.S. Treasurer Katharine Ortega to keynote the Republican convention in Dallas.

But when faced by substantive proposals to improve the lot of women, the administration has balked. While the administration finally agreed to sign a bill sponsored by the Congressional Caucus on Women's Issues toughening procedures for collecting child-support payments, it refused to support a revision of the Civil Rights Act sponsored by 63 Republican and Democratic senators.

The Civil Rights Act revision is intended to overturn the Supreme Court ruling in the *Grove City v. Bell* case last February. The Court ruled that, under the act's existing provisions, a college's failure to grant equal facilities to men and women could not affect government aid for the entire institution, but only aid for the specific program in which discrimination occurred. Thus a college that didn't provide equal athletic programs for men and women could be denied federal funds for its athletic program (which most don't receive anyway), but could not be threatened with a general cutoff of funds.

The bipartisan Civil Rights Act, sponsored by the Republican Senate leadership, would forbid discrimination by any "recipient" of government money—in this way, making institutions vulnerable to total cutoffs if they discriminate in any of their programs. In support of the bill, Republican members of Congress wrote the president, "We must not allow pro-

tection against discrimination to be a Democratic issue."

The administration was initially divided on the bill, with Education Department officials and some White House staff in favor of it and Justice Department and Office of Management and Budget officials opposed. (The Justice Department had submitted a brief supporting the college in the *Grove City* case.) As a result of pressure from Attorney General William French Smith, Utah Sen. Jake Garn and from the conservative movement ("Vast Expansion of Federal Power: Radical Civil Rights Bill Sailing Toward Passage," *Human Events* warned), the president decided to oppose the bill. In his May 22 news conference, the president explained that the bill "would open the door to federal intrus-

Conservatives have advanced two alternative explanations for the gender gap. According to Barr, the more important gap is that between married voters, who tend to support the president and the Republicans, and unmarried voters. "If the media wanted to cover a gap, they'd cover the marriage gap, which is twice the so-called gender gap," Barr said.

Barr cites a CBS/*New York Times* poll of the 1982 House elections that shows an 11 percent gap in married and unmarried voters' preferences, compared to a 4-5 percent gap in male-female preferences. According to Barr, the marriage gap represents support for "the pro-family policies of this administration."

Other conservatives insist that the gender gap has been caused by the shift of male voters into the Republican camp

REPUBLICANS

Whose gender gap is it, anyway?



ion in local and state governments and in any manner of ways beyond anything that has ever been intended by the Civil Rights Act."

Some conservatives have been uncomfortable even with the administration's symbolic concessions to the gender gap. The muzzling of Whittlesey, whom they regard as the only genuine conservative among the White House staff, has particularly angered them.

Many conservatives disagree with the

rather than the abandonment of the Republicans by female voters. According to RNC co-chair Betty Heitman, "The Democrats have a terrible gender gap. The majority of men in the country by far support the president." Heitman attributes male support of the president to their being "out in the workforce longer" and their appreciation of "a strong leader."

According to New Right leader Paul Weyrich, the most dramatic illustration

"The Democrats have a terrible gender gap. The majority of men in the country support the president."

White House and Senate leadership's acceptance of the gender gap as a political fact. Their reasoning recalls a defense lawyer's pleading: my client wasn't present at the scene of the crime; and even if he was, he didn't do it.

Many conservatives deny that the gender gap exists at all. Noreen Barr of Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum describes it as "media baloney." But the same conservatives also contend that even if the gap exists, it has been misinterpreted by feminists and by the "liberal media."

of a male gap is the North Carolina Senate race between incumbent Republican Jesse Helms and Gov. James Hunt. In a recent Gallup poll, Helms led among male voters by 56 to 40 percent, while Hunt led among women by 52 to 44 percent—in all, a 12 percent gender gap. Weyrich commented, "Everybody says Jesse Helms is way behind with female voters. Why not say there is a wimp gap? Gov. Hunt has a major problem with male voters."

The male gender gap theory was pion-

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 13-26, 1984 23
eered by Kevin Phillips, the author of *Post-Conservative America*. In his post-election analysis of the 1982 governor's races in Michigan and New York, Phillips claimed that the gender gap in those races exceeded the national average because male voters were attracted to the Republican candidates' "populist outsider politics."

Immediately after those elections, most analysts dismissed Phillips' contention. In an October 1983 *National Journal* article, William Schneider rejected the male gender gap theory on the grounds that Reagan's popularity rating among men had remained constant since early 1981, while his rating among women had dipped 6 percent.

But recent polling suggests that Phillips may have had a point. According to the ABC/*Washington Post* polls, while Reagan's popularity among women has fluctuated since January 1982, his approval by men has varied more widely, from a low of 47 percent to its current 60 percent.

The pollsters' studies of reaction to the October 1983 Grenada invasion also suggests that a male gender gap may exist. According to the ABC/*Washington Post* poll, Reagan's rating among women rose from 47 percent in September to 49 percent in October—a statistically impercep-

Paul Weyrich calls men's preference for Republican Sen. Jesse Helms over challenger Jim Hunt "a wimp gap."

tible change—while men's approval rating climbed from 59 to 67 percent. The Grenada invasion may have confirmed men's appreciation of his presidency.

Barr's insistence that the married/unmarried gap is more significant than the male/female gap also merits some attention. But the married/unmarried gap is smaller than the disparity between unmarried women voters and the rest of the electorate. In 1982 House races, for instance, unmarried women preferred Democrats by 63 to 34 percent.

Reagan's pollster Richard Wirthlin has also acknowledged a similar Democratic preference among 25- to 40-year-old women. For Republicans, this group, which grew up under the influence of the feminist movement of the '60s and '70s, represents the heart of the gender gap. It is unlikely that they can be won over by the symbolic exertions of Sonia Landau and of Deaver's Working Group.

But the exertions of Walter Mondale and company may equally fail to win over the men who flocked to Reagan's banner in the 1980 elections and who found inspiration in the American invasion of a small Caribbean atoll.

Races

Continued from page 17

ing onto his seat this time around. Given zero ratings by the ACLU, the AFL-CIO, the NEA and a 5 percent rating by ADA, Smith received this quip from PEACE-PAC: "He's never met a weapons system he doesn't like." Elected on Reagan's coattails, his district was redrawn in '82, making his constituency far more moderate than he. This fact, reinforced by Oregon's slight Democratic voter registration edge (14 percent of the voters are independent), bodes well for McFarland's chances in November.

• Betty Goetz Lall, a Columbia University professor and director of its Labor and Urban Affairs Institute, is seeking a rematch against Rep. Bill Green of New York's 15th C.D. Lall won 45 per-

cent of the vote in her '82 run, despite being recruited just three months before the general election. This time she announced in January but must overcome primary opposition from well-heeled Manhattan borough President Andrew Stein. Lall, who served on the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under President Kennedy and has been a leader of the New York Metro Freeze Campaign, has received the influential endorsements of SALT II negotiator Paul Warnke and former presidential advisor Arthur Schlesinger. Her primary is on September 11.

Of the House races featuring Republican women, four have earned notice because of the strong bipartisan support garnered by the candidates' more liberal views. Former Washington state Sen. Sue Gould, Minnesota state Sen. Nancy Brataas, Kentucky businesswoman Cissy Musselman and Sen. John Danforth's former press secretary, Carrie Francke of Missouri, all shun their party's line on

ERA and abortion rights. Because such stands often cost Republican women full party support, help from women's PACs and national networks has been particularly important.

These emerging women's political institutions are crucial, says CAWP Director Mandel: "Outside or inside government, it has been shown that where women get together and support one another, we see tremendous progress. Enormous potential power exists in the women's political community."

But she acknowledges that it takes more than that: "It takes women in male networks as well...and although even the organized women's political community is still on the outside, they are now knocking on the door."

This year many of the women knocking on the doors of the U.S. House and Senate have built up experience in their state legislatures. There, where races aren't nearly as costly, and full party support not so critical, women have made significant strides.

While in 1968 women held only 305 seats in their state legislatures, they had won 770 seats by 1979. Throughout the

'70s women's representation grew with each election, and today they comprise more than 13 percent of all state legislative seats—holding 991 seats in all.

Despite encouraging signs at the state level, the burdens of running for federal legislative positions must be eased if women are to make corresponding progress there. While some women suggest public funding for elections and many more advocate spending limits on races as ways to reduce financial constraints, most agree that party support would be a larger factor in easing fundraising difficulties. They envision parties grooming women candidates, promoting them, nominating them for "winnable" races.

But according to Ruth Mandel, that is not soon to happen. She warns: "Politics is a competitive business. No one is going to sit aside in the interests of ameliorative social change and wait for a woman candidate to be presented as the party's nominee. Men will jump into a race if they think they have a shot."

It is increasingly clear that no one wants women politicians in office as much as women do. The responsibility rests in their hands.

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Co-op America... Putting People First

By Zillah Eisenstein

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION is clearly concerned about the gender gap. In a 12-page memo compiled last year for the White House Coordinating Council on Women, Ronald Hinckley stated, "The continued growth of the 'gender gap' in its current form could cause serious trouble for Republicans in 1984."

The memo defines the gap as reflecting differences between men and women "in the way they judge political morality, their economic vulnerabilities, their levels of political awareness, variations in the impact of education on them, and their perceived self-interests." The gender gap also reflects "the changes in population characteristics, particularly the rise of single-parent families headed by women, many of which are dependent on government subsidies," and also "reflects the president's policies on the budget and foreign defense."

But while the memo seems to recognize that the gap reflects real issues specific to women's changing lives, it concludes that the problem is primarily one of perception and that a communications plan must "target" women to change the way they think about the administration.

In part the gender gap reflects the fact that Reagan is caught between his commitment to sending women back into the home and the widely accepted tradition of equality of opportunity for all. The liberal notion of women's legal and economic equality is accepted by a majority of the public. The capitalist need for women wage workers only exacerbates the tension between the notion of equality of opportunity for women and the male privilege defined and protected by the state. The Reagan administration is divided about how best to deal with this dilemma—hence divisions, even within Republican circles, over abortion, pay equity, affirmative action and other "women's issues."

Part of the gender gap is women's coming to consciousness as a sexual class—understanding their particular economic vulnerability as secondary wage-earners who suffer from unemployment, underemployment or 61 cents-to-the-dollar wage gap when employed. These realities define their relationship to the social welfare state, which either aids them while unemployed, subsidizes them while underemployed, assists them in getting new jobs and promotions through affirmative action or hires them (and now fires them).

The dismantling and reorganization of the social welfare state by the Reagan administration has affected poor, working-class and middle-class Third World and white women in various ways. Third World and white poor, and working-class women have lost welfare benefits, food stamps and legal services. Many middle-class women have lost their jobs providing those services.

Through the '70s, government employed 49.9 percent of all female professionals in the U.S. With the cutbacks, "minority employees of the federal agencies have been laid off at a rate of 50 percent greater than non-minority employees, women administrators have been laid off at a rate 150 percent higher than male administrators," said Rep. Augustus Hawkins (D-CA).

The dismantling of the social welfare state can be seen as an attack on the gains made by Third World and white poor and middle-class (professional) women. This assault on equality of opportunity for women in the public sector is part of the Reagan administration's covert antifeminist politics. Its overt program is against the ERA and abortion rights.

The gap and feminism.

Feminist leaders like Eleanor Smeal and Bella Abzug argue that the gender gap reflects women's particular economic interests and their commitment to issues like the ERA and abortion rights. Smeal believes women's rights issues have gotten short shrift as a principal cause of

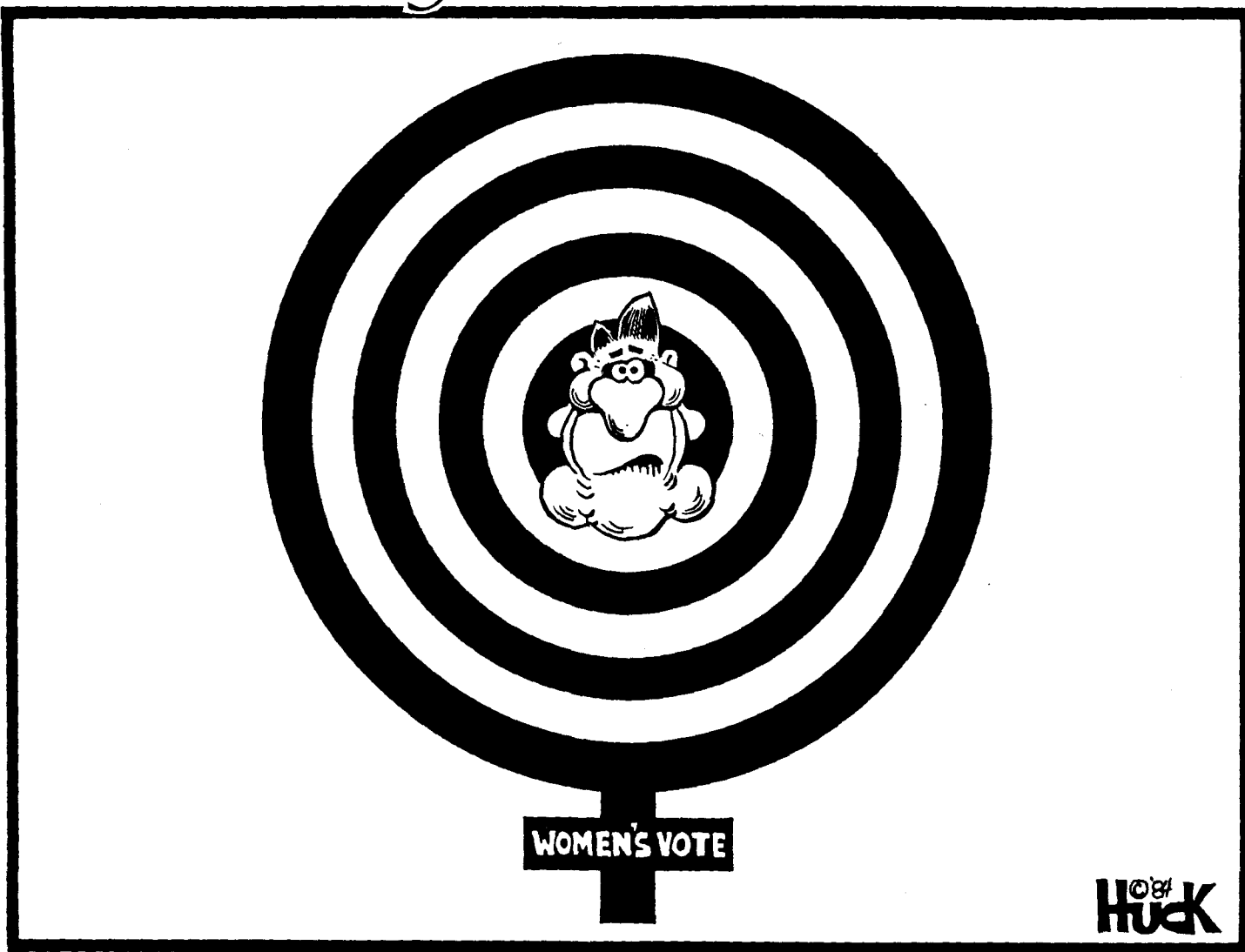
the gap. She sees sex discrimination running through all its issues.

Both Smeal and Abzug in their recent books try to show that women's "compassion" can often be better understood as a position that correlates with their particular needs. For Smeal, women are antimilitarist because military spending cuts social spending and the services that they need and that employ them. The military, she notes, holds out few job options for women.

On the other side, Jean Bethke Elsh-

Why does one need to adopt and either/or standard to explain the gender gap? Anti-Reagan women are neither merely nurturing nor merely feminist. They are both—and something more.

GENDER GAP



THE FUTURE

Contradictions inevitable as women become political force

tain argues that women's traditional values—their commitment to peace and social compassion, not feminist concerns, best explain the gap. She argues that differences between men's and women's attitudes do not differ much on the ERA and abortion, but rather on foreign policy and war-related concerns. Frances Fox Piven as well has argued in *Socialist Review* that "the emphasis on peace, economic equality and social needs associated with the gender gap suggests the imprint of what are usually taken as traditional female values." She states, and Elshain agrees: "There is not much correlation between the largely middle-class constituency of the movement and the cross-class constituency of the gap, or between the issues emphasized by the movement and the issues highlighted by the gap."

But why does one need to adopt an either/or standard for explaining the gender gap? The women who comprise the anti-Reagan vote are neither merely traditional and nurturing nor merely feminist. They are both—and something more. Women reflect the particular history, traditions, activities, vulnerabilities of being women in this society, and they can never be completely outside this context.

Yet they are simultaneously in conflict with a society that limits them to patriarchal traditions. To this extent they are demanding equality—an economic and political sameness with men and a sexual and gendered particularity. The gender gap reflects the complicated reality that women simultaneously live in and against patriarchal society. As a feminist, one can never be completely inside or outside it. Contradictory and complicated consciousness is part of this reality. The gender gap is part of this consciousness.

A *Women's Day* magazine survey of 115,000 women in April 1984 found: while desiring peace, 75 percent of women think the U.S.'s position as a world power is slipping and it worries them; a majority think the American posture toward the Soviets is correct; a majority

support a nuclear freeze only if other nuclear powers agree to a verifiable pact; 79 percent supported abortion; 68 percent supported ERA; 61 percent supported federally subsidized day care.

But a CBS news poll of 1,367 that same month found only 25 percent of women approved of U.S. policy in Latin America (whereas 34 percent of the men did); 22 percent of the women favored the overthrow of the pro-Soviet government in Nicaragua (31 percent of the men did) and only 8 percent of the women supported the harbor mining in Nicaragua (19 percent of the men did).

Clearly, sweeping generalities about women's attitudes are inappropriate. If the gender gap can be explained simply in terms of the greater nurturing capacities of women and their anti-war stance, why are pro-ERA women more critical of Reagan than anti-ERA women? Why are wage-earning women more critical of the Reagan administration than housewives? Or why do women appear to be more critical of U.S. involvement in El Salvador than critical of an anti-Soviet stance?

Women's consciousness reflects in part the varied realities of women's lives, through their sexual class identity and the changing feminist discourse. This consciousness develops within a society that has legitimated (liberal) feminist discourse. This has deradicalized aspects of feminism and made it more subversive because a language of equality starkly contrasts the inequalities women face in the courts, in the labor force and at home.

The gender gap is not a completely new phenomenon but part of women's historical effort to challenge male power and privilege and the political institutions that define it. What is new is that women are opposing a specific administration along these lines. It reflects the changing nature of women's lives over decades—women's greater participation in the labor force, different family forms, the development of the social welfare state (and its present dismantling), the Vietnam war (and the

Continued on following page

Continued from preceding page

fear of an involvement similar in El Salvador or Nicaragua—and the way these changes have affected women's understanding of their needs and rights.

The gap is also a measure of the emergence of liberal feminism. While anti-Reagan women define themselves as feminists, a feminist discourse influences women's thinking and acting in the world. And the liberal feminist agenda that advances women's legal and eco-

nomie equality and reproductive rights is important in constraining the Reagan administration from reconstituting the patriarchal dimensions of the state. The convergence of women's changing lives and their rising consciousness of their interests is transforming them into a sexual class. Thus the gender gap reflects the process of women becoming conscious of themselves as a sexual class.

The politics of sex class.

Women constitute a political force as a sexual class. This is initially defined in terms of their being female but is fully revealed in their identification as nurturers, mothers, secondary wage earners under patriarchal relations. The biological female is transformed through a series of political relations into a woman, differentiated from man in order to privilege man.

As a sexual class, women become a political force by battling patriarchal privilege. One could argue that in the U.S. the struggle from 1848 to 1920 and then the struggle again from 1969 to the present demonstrates the process of a sexual class coming to a consciousness of itself. The gender gap is a particular expression of this consciousness because it has developed, in part, in reaction to the Reagan administration's attempts to reverse the progress women have made in entering the public realm by dismantling the social welfare state.

Feminism and the social welfare state are subversive, since both challenge the traditional view of the separation of the

family and the state. As the social welfare state exposed the state's interest in family life—through state subsidies like AFDC and food stamps—it challenged the separateness of family and state, public and private life. (Feminism did this as well in uncovering the personal as political.) To the extent that the social welfare state has challenged these divisions—between public and private life, family and state, the differences between women and men—the social welfare state has become subversive to the state itself since these distinctions are central to patriarchal discourse.

The 1984 election.

Will the Reagan administration be able to obscure its antifeminist policies enough to narrow the gender gap? The appointments of Sandra O'Connor, Elizabeth Dole and Margaret Heckler have been an attempt at courting women's votes. But feminists know appointments like these—or even a woman vice-presidential candidate—don't fully address their concerns.

This is not to belittle the importance of feminist politicians. Their existence shifts the discourse by legitimating women in the public sphere. It should be noted, however, that feminist concerns have not been a prominent area of debate so far in the election season. The issues of sexual equality (sexual freedom, legal and economic equity) have gotten less attention than the potential women vice-presidential candidates. But because the discourse is shifting, the real issues of sexual equality are inadvertently made visible.

As women become conscious of their sexual class status, they do not automatically become progressive. New Right antifeminist women are a clear example of how sex class consciousness can make one look backward to a time when women, if more oppressed, had more protection. Thus understanding how to build feminist consciousness out of sex class consciousness becomes more important if we are to use the gender gap to remove Reagan from office.

Even though our electoral choices in 1984 are very limited, it is important that women express their political dissatisfaction at the polls, more as a first attempt at constituting ourselves as a political force than as a naive hope that we can fundamentally change society through the electoral process. Removing Reagan from office, rather than choosing a preferred candidate, is defensive. But the process of removing Reagan while developing a politics based on gender and race is not.

Because the likely Democratic nominee won't inspire us to vote enthusiastically, we must continue to challenge patriarchy from outside electoral politics. However limited the impact, it does matter who is in office. We should have learned our lesson from the New Right in 1980 that feminists cannot give over the electoral arena to reactionary forces.

*Zillah Eisenstein is a professor of politics at Ithaca College. Her most recent book is **Feminism and Sexual Equality, Crisis in Liberal America**, recently published by Monthly Review Press.*

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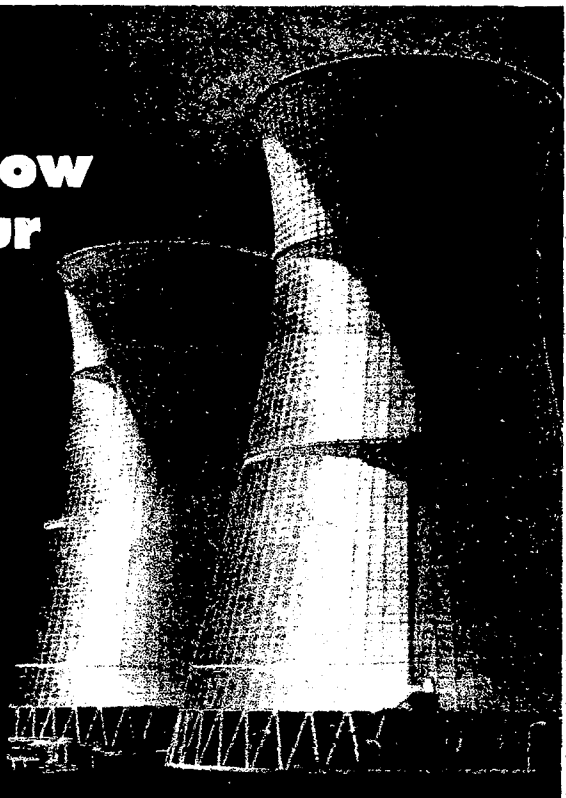
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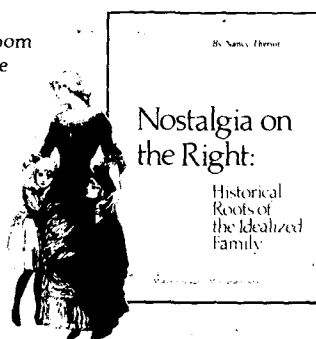
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WRITE TO CENTER FOR POPULAR ECONOMICS ★ BOX 785 ★ AMHERST, MA 01004

I'M IN LOVE WITH A WONDERFUL GUY

STEVE KARPP IS RIGHT (ITT, MAY 9): This Lenni Brenner fellow is a monster. First he had the nerve to prove that Israel's Prime Minister, Shamir, wanted to go to war on Hitler's side (ITT, Jan. 18). And then he did even worse than that: he pointed out that Israel doesn't allow Jewish women to initiate divorces, and had the timerity to imply that, therefore, it was unrealistic to expect a Jewish state that discriminates against half the Jews to ever grant equality to its Arab citizens (ITT, April 18). Such truthfulness correctly brought down Karpp's wrath against—the Zionists?—no, against the infamous Brenner.

In fact, it was the degenerates—excuse me—the social democrats—excuse me again—the degenerates of the Labor Party who passed the Rabbinical Courts Law of 1953, when another shameless monster, a man named Cohen (meaning a descendant of the priests of the Temple, defunct for 1,914 years) had the audacity to marry a woman in a civil marriage, still legal under a left-over British Mandate law. Now it is well understood that social democrats are all and everywhere secular saints, and they promptly made it illegal for anyone named Cohen to marry a divorcee.

It is realistic to expect that the Labor Party will win the July 23 election, but it is not reasonable to expect that these creatures will think to amend the Rabbinic Courts Law—not now, and not ever. Karpp and his co-thinkers all know this, but they don't care: as racists they are for the continued existence of the Zionist state because it is Jewish. Therefore it can do what it likes to Arabs, or even to Jews, and people like Karpp will stand sentry duty on its borders—and not write one word in opposition to Shamir, the would-be collaborator, or the male chauvinist crackpots of Labor Zionism. —Lenni Brenner
New York

GRATUITY

KATE ELLIS' REVIEW OF HELEN HAZ-
Ken's *Endless Rapture* includes several gratuitous comments concerning my work that indicate Ellis' total lack of knowledge of my position. I doubt she's ever read anything I've written, but if she has, she has put it through some ideological grinder and it's come out as tendentious nonsense.

Ellis writes: "Many feminists see women's nature as an unchanging essence." She goes on to link such essentialism to "Jean Bethke Elshtain's enthusiasm for the traditional family where 'the nourishment of humanity [by women] takes place at every point of the life cycle.'" Andrea Dworkin then gets drawn into the picture as another offender.

It is interesting that: (a) I have insistently and consistently criticized the Dworkin position in print, (b) I have insistently and consistently criticized arguments that pose women's nature as some unchanging thing in itself. It would be tedious to list all the places I have done this, but let me suggest that Ellis read my critiques of radical feminist metaphysics (in my book *Public Man, Private Woman*) that presume wholly separate male and female ontologies or being. My hunch is that Ellis doesn't know what counts as an essentialist position.

I have insistently and consistently claimed that feminist discourse is hobbled by its own embrace of a nature/culture split that entered modern discourse with the rationalizing activities of 17th and 18th century scientific thought—a discourse that consistently placed "women" on the negative side of the ledger (with "nature"). To break through this binary prison is important.

Additionally, the quote Ellis offers has been doctored—by herself—with the bracketed "by women." I think here she is misquoting me from a *Dissent*

essay in which I made it clear that I was speaking of the humanizing activities of parenting, not mothering exclusively. Should not we on the left be concerned with the very young and the very old and who is to tend to them? Should we not be concerned at the anomic horror of much treatment of those left out of the productive process, especially the very old and very young? Should we not try to strengthen those social relations not reducible to a market nexus? But in Ellis lingo this turns me into a "pro-family type," an enemy within. How bizarre that "pro-family" has become an epithet for some feminists and some on the left. How short-sighted to turn over discourse on this question to the right wing.

—Jean Bethke Elshtain
Amherst, Mass.

Kate Ellis replies: Jean Elshtain, a prolific writer, is right when she says I haven't read everything she's written. I tend to track disagreement, so I've probably focused on parts of her canon where we disagree. One of those places is the piece in Dissent from which I quoted, and which calls for "a rethinking of terms that have tended to overschematize the world as one of either/or: either traditional family life or careerism, and so on."

Fine. But she opposes Betty Friedan's vision in which women are absorbed "into the exciting world of those 'able, ambitious men' who went off to the city and 'kept on growing.'" She sees "flex-time" and other solutions involving the rearrangement of work as "possible, at best, for the top 10-15 percent of the American population." But why should socialist feminists accept this? Are we interested in social change or not?

Elshtain's social feminism "indicts an economic system that denies families a living family wage, and that forces both parents into the work force, often against the will of the woman who would prefer to be with her children but must, instead, work at a low pay, dead-end job just to make 'ends meet.'" It looks like she sees breadwinning as "the male world" into which women should not aspire or be forced, and that the family wage should go to the man, who "naturally" belongs there.

I know Elshtain has written in opposition to Dworkin. But when I read her closely, I see a kind of essentialism, one that calls upon feminists to come out and acknowledge that women's place really is in the home.

REACH OUT

BEING A PATRON OF THE ARTS AND A new subscriber (yeah) to *In These Times*, I am always anxious to see what music/arts article will appear in the next issue. I enjoyed the piece on The Pretenders, letting readers know that new music can and does come from the heart.

However, I totally disagree with "Hack Surrealism" (ITT, May 16) by Robert A. Hull. Negative articles like his do nothing to encourage reading *In These Times*. It is clear that Hull is the one being deceived by rock videos. Not only does he not understand the videos, he clearly doesn't understand or even like rock music. Videos enhance the music they were created for but, more importantly, they get people involved in the music and the meaning of the song.

Music is a great way to communicate and for the first time in my life I see pre-teens as well as over-30s getting involved with modern music.

In These Times should promote new music and videos, concentrating on the many interesting bands that have so much to say politically. It is the best way we have, in these times, to reach young people.

—Donna Lynn DeMars
Chicago

BAH, HUMBUG

JON KALISH'S "AGENT ORANGE VICTIMS win a 'vindication'" never makes a single mention of savage injuries inflicted on the Vietnamese peo-

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

ple and murderous damage caused to the beautiful lands in Southeast Asia.

You Americans are all the same! Even you, self-claimed socialists. You are beyond salvation and remorse. You are so insensitive to the people of other lands, especially of the Third World.

You are no better than your B-class cowboy Ronald Reagan.

After having been deeply angered and insulted by the "mainstream" American mass media like *Time*, *Newsweek*, *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and the like, I poured over your above-mentioned article by Jon Kalish to see if any of you Americans would ever mention the people of Vietnam and the devastated lands and waters of Vietnam.

Not a single word. Your concern is your soldiers only! You could not care less about the millions of Vietnamese and millions of acres of South Eastern land probably permanently destroyed by your raining down of your chemicals on those people and lands. And you accuse the Soviets of chem-war.

Kalish quoted someone as having said: "The American judicial system has seen its finest hour." "Finest hour," bah!

Shame on you, American socialist-fakers.

—S. Zin Gimson
Baltimore

INNUENDO

THE RECENT ARTICLE "THE ANTI-Semitic current among blacks" by Salim Muwakkil was informative, but just a bit hysterical. Judging by the headline, I expected a sociological analysis of black-Jewish relations among ordinary people in the '80s. Instead I was treated to choice ideological quotes by various black writers and activists (primarily Muslims) ranging from 1967 to 1980. The article should have been entitled "The history of anti-Semitism among black nationalist intellectuals."

As with all racism, anti-Semitism must be criticized openly wherever it appears. But Muwakkil omits the crucial discussion of feelings toward Jews

among the majority of blacks. Instead, he switched quickly to a vicious guilt-by-association attack on Jesse Jackson with a note of urgency I can easily find in any U.S. daily newspaper. This kind of innuendo has been used effectively against Jews, Communists and progressive movements historically to distort the political position of each and exaggerate its true political power. I support Jackson because his positions are the most progressive of all candidates, and because he seeks to broaden the spectrum of political participation in this country; but not because I am a black Muslim anti-Semite.

—Dennis Schaffer
Seattle

INFLAMED FAN

SALIM MUWAKKIL'S ARTICLE ABOUT anti-Semitism among blacks seems only to exacerbate the issue. There are those who always want to fan the flames. His last line bringing in again Jesse Jackson's "Hymie" comment tries to bring down a movement, to drive wedges in what can be a mobilization of those shut out of our dominant class system. Sure we all resent those who get on top and then exploit the poor. But Jesse Jackson's campaign certainly is not about hate, it is about fair treatment and negotiations among world powers and a government run with conscience. Your paper has covered those forces trying to bring that about. I doubt that the anti-Semitic current is part of the mainstream of black thought. I hope you continue to cover the positive awakening that is occurring.

—John Welch
Marshall, Calif.

QUERY

AFTER LISTENING TO PRESIDENT Reagan, one wonders if bullshit is one word or two words.

—Robert Wille
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

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This is Part II of a four-part series.

THE TRICKLE-DOWN REDISTRIBUTIVE strategy for economic recovery sacrifices wages and living standards in order to boost profits and investment. It reigns as the conventional wisdom.

Evidence of its prevalence surrounds us: Republicans and Democrats, conservatives and liberals, business executives and academics differ not so much in their strategies to address underlying economic problems as in the tactics they would use to pursue this strategy. Monetarists seek redistribution through the operation of market forces (suitably influenced by restrictive macroeconomic policy). Industrial policy advocates would prefer more direct government intervention. Almost all seem to accept the idea that a "capital shortage" lies at the heart of our economic woes, and, therefore, that the overriding need is for belt-tightening in order to free up resources for capital formation.

Many will recognize this argument as the classic "guns-versus-butter" trade-off of textbook economics—applied in this case to consumption versus investment. You can't get something for nothing. There's no such thing as a free lunch. To complain about it is to object to the laws of arithmetic.

There is a hidden logical assumption in this affirmation of inevitable trade-offs. It assumes that nothing is currently wasted, that no productive inputs are currently lying fallow, that we are presently taking maximum advantage of the human and other resources applied in production. In short, it assumes that we are truly living in a "zero-sum" economy.

But if there is widespread waste—either because of unused or misused resources—the zero-sum logic fails. Not because two plus two equals five, but because more investment and more consumption are possible if we make better use of our productive capacity. You can get something for nothing if you stop wasting resources.

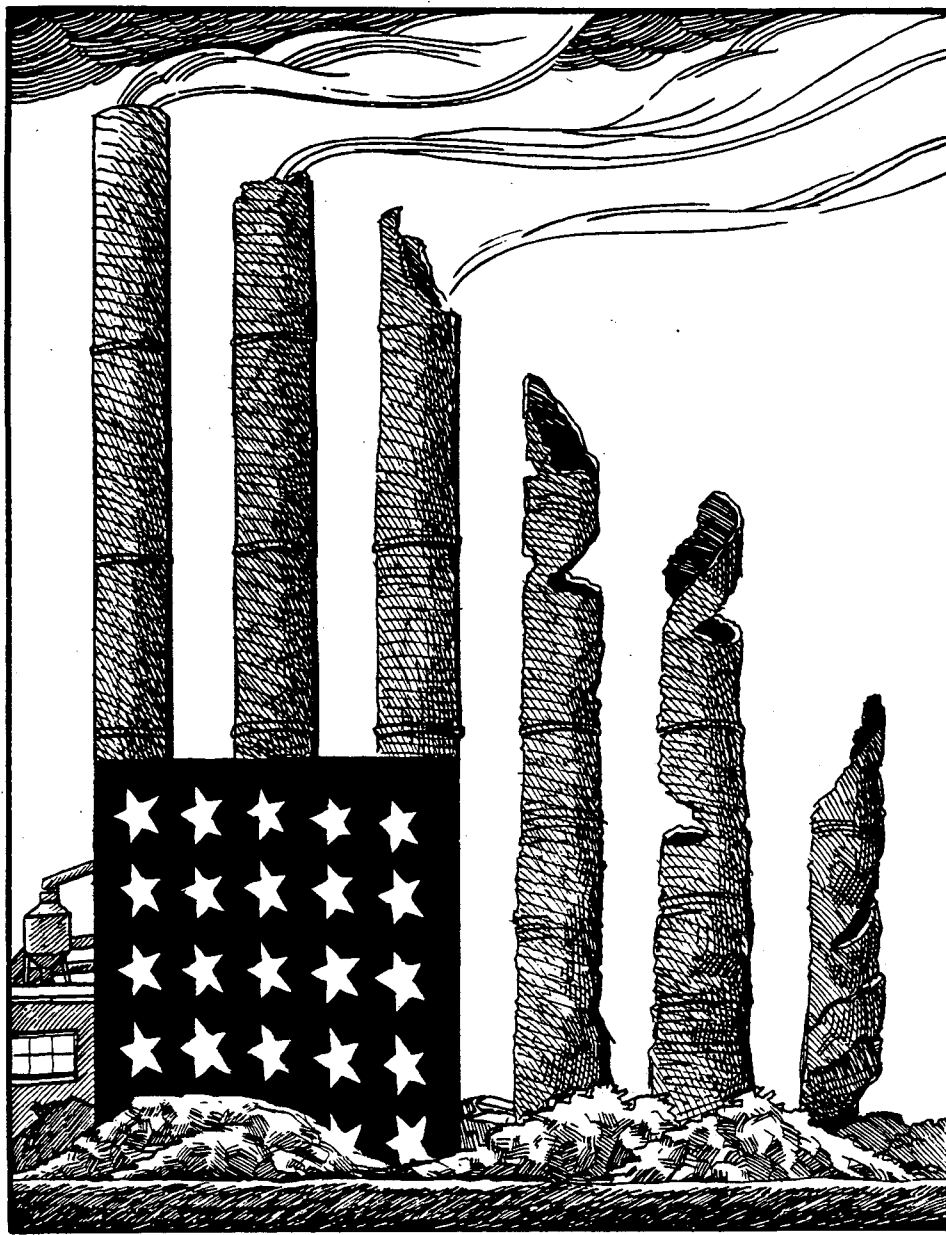
At present, waste is ubiquitous on both the "demand side" and the "supply side" of our economy.

Demand-side waste results from a failure to operate the economy at full employment and full capacity; resources that could be put to productive use lie idle. While the Great Depression of the '30s focused urgent attention on this source of waste, many mainstream economists are currently inclined to minimize the extent of involuntary unemployment—attributing a "natural rate of unemployment" of 7 percent or more to the necessary frictions and discipline of a "free" labor market. They refuse to consider simple steps to make fuller use of our resources because they refuse to countenance the coordination and planning such steps would involve.

Supply-side waste results from inefficient use of the labor and resources that are employed. For example:

- Inefficient production results from labor-management conflict;
- Inefficient use of labor and wasted intellectual resources result from racial, sexual and other forms of discrimination and from inequality of educational opportunity;
- Environmental destruction and community decay result from the inability of our economy to value the things that money cannot buy; and
- Product waste results because some products are able to earn a profit even though they do not meet most people's needs.

We believe that such supply-side waste results from the imperatives of maintaining the postwar corporate system of private power and privilege. The effort to shore up that system—in the face of popular challenges in the '60s and '70s—has brought us more and more waste in the



THE ECONOMY PART II

There is no capital shortage, only supply-side waste

form of burgeoning costs of supervising and monitoring workers; growing corporate resources diverted to legal counsel, financial speculation and advertising; rising costs of environmental cleanup and occupational illness; and soaring expenses of a defense establishment nearly out of control.

Most economists and public officials claim that these are necessary (if regrettable) expenses. But they are necessary only because we continue to play by the prevailing rules of the game.

We base this argument on the venerable Marxian proposition that the social organization of a capitalist economy, far from leading to efficiency, is a barrier to the sensible use of time, effort and resources. If the capitalist rules of the game are not taken as given, then it may

be possible to eliminate a substantial amount of waste in the economy. As a result, it would be possible to escape—or at least to attenuate—the bitter trade-offs that often divide progressive groups and that weaken progressive forces in the face of capital.

We will propose an economic strategy that is designed to take advantage of just this possibility. Its crucial analytical proposition is that the economies of most of the advanced capitalist nations today are slack economies, not zero-sum economies. For this reason what is paid to Peter need not be robbed from Paul. Increases in investment do not require decreases in consumption. More pay for textile workers does not mean less for postal workers. The textbook world of inevitable trade-offs is a poor description

The rules of capitalist economics, far from leading to great efficiency, are barriers to the sensible use of time, effort and resources. If capitalist principles are abrogated, then a substantial amount of waste can be eliminated.

of our economic waste land. Quite the reverse: a "free lunch," declared nonexistent by the economic sages, is indeed possible if we find the right recipe.

To take full advantage of this possibility, however, we must challenge the capitalist rules of the game that are fundamentally responsible for so much of the waste in the American economy. Since there is not yet a socialist movement in the U.S. with sufficient power to mount this challenge frontally, we need to develop some kind of "transitional program" that will lead us in the right direction.

Historically, one of the Achilles' heels of such transitional programs has been economic; it often appears that almost any conceivable step toward socialism will result in at least a short-run deterioration of the economic situation of most people. But our analysis suggests that this need not be the case.

In the next article in this series we will develop the macroeconomic logic of part of a transitional program, based on what we call the "wage-led productivity growth" strategy. This strategy rejects the idea that prosperity down the road requires belt-tightening by workers and consumers in order to redistribute income toward the wealthy and the corporations. We believe, instead, that wage growth and wage equalization can benefit both workers and the economy as a whole.

Fairness and economic rationality can in fact form a surprisingly serendipitous combination. The reason is that economic domination is costly to police. A wage-led productivity growth strategy promises to attenuate at least some of the class and other conflicts that have led to the recent escalation of ineffectual and costly systems of control in the U.S.

From the perspective of conventional economic wisdom, the idea that high and growing wages may stimulate growth seems implausible. But consider the empirical evidence:

- Compared with their counterparts in many advanced industrial economies, American workers are not highly paid. The European nations whose average industrial wages overtook those of the U.S. since World War II also had higher savings and investment rates, productivity growth and overall increases in living standards than did the U.S.

- If we divide the recent history of the American economy into an early period (1948-1966) of rising profits, rising investment, stable prices and rapid growth, and a later period of cumulating economic difficulty, we find that average real hourly worker compensation rose at an average annual rate of 2.9 percent during the former period and at 0.8 percent during the latter.

By themselves, of course, these data neither define nor demonstrate the viability of a wage-led productivity growth strategy. It could well be that successful economic performance leads to higher wages rather than the other way around. Moreover, it may plausibly be argued that economic performance and high wages are mutually supporting aspects of the growth process. To unravel these connections we must understand the causal relationship between wages and productivity. We pursue these relationships in the next article in this series.

Until then, the lesson is clear: we must bow to the austere imperatives of the economic wisdom only if we accept the underlying logic of zero-sum thinking. And that would require the suspension of disbelief born both of our daily experience and a careful analysis of the waste that pervades the American economy.

We need instead to pursue the full and appealing implications of the opposite view of our capitalist economy—that irrationality and corporate power create pervasive and eradicable waste. A macroeconomic strategy based on wage-led productivity growth flows directly from that recognition. As we will argue in the next two articles in this series, more rapidly growing and more equal wages can stimulate economic growth and also provide the foundations for a long-run transition to socialist democracy.

Sam Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf co-authored *Beyond the Wasteland*, recently released in paperback by Anchor/Doubleday Press.

The Unfinished Liberation of Chinese Women, 1949-1980

By Phyllis Andors
Indiana University Press,
212 pp., \$22.50

Women, the Family, and Peasant Revolution in China

By Kay Anne Johnson
University of Chicago Press
282 pp., \$23.00

Patriarchy and Socialist Revolution in China

By Judith Stacey
University of California Press,
324 pp., \$28.50

By Deborah Davis-Friedmann

In the early years of the Cultural Revolution (1968-69), China exported to the U.S. a heroine of the Chinese Civil War—a country girl named Gold Flower. Sold by her parents as a child bride, she was first beaten by her husband and then by her father-in-law.

Only after the arrival of the Red Army and the Communist land-reform cadres did Gold Flower find the strength and help to attack her oppressors, rally other women to the cause of sexual equality and become a "backbone element" of village women.

In 1984 China is sending us different heroines. For young adults the ideal is Zhang Haidi, a paraplegic in her late 20s who, despite little formal education, has mastered acupuncture and six foreign languages, thereby helping others and contributing usefully to society. Zhang Haidi faces none of the "feudal" brutality that nearly killed Gold Flower, and she does not need new, revolutionary social organization. Her problems are fortuitously created by tragic infirmity. She teaches others to rely on Mao Tse-tung's advice to "avoid the wrong road of egoism."

In fiction, a popular heroine of the past year has been Dr. Lu Wenting, a mortally ill eye surgeon featured in the film *On Reaching Middle Age*. "A virtuous wife and mother," Dr. Lu breaks down from the physical and mental strain of her work, showing the urgent need for better institutional backing for professional women to carry the double burden of career and family.

The distance between the world of Gold Flower and these two heroines of the '80s is enormous. Should we then conclude that the Communist revolution has so radically reduced the institutionalized violence against women of pre-Communist years that Gold Flower's story has become irrelevant?

To an extent we can. China's post-1949 marriage law prohibits the sale of young girls as child brides, and these days the practice is virtually unknown. Wife beating is a criminal offense and a legitimate ground for divorce. Parents now expect teenage daughters and young mothers to work in the paid labor force. The number of women government cadres has increased 14-fold.

Yet marriage by purchase still prevails in the countryside. Even in the cities it is common for men and women to meet through a relative's introduction and then marry the first person they date. In the past two years the Chinese government has shocked its own citizens and those of other countries with official acknowledgment of the existence of female infanticide. In response to a national birth-control campaign that discourages more than one child per family, a few parents of

first-born daughters have killed the infants rather than accept son-less status. More compelling and horrifying proof of continuing violence against females is hard to find.

Yet the recent heroines—Dr. Lu and Zhang Haidi—seem oblivious to this violence against those who have the misfortune to be born female. Where are the advocates for the contemporary Gold Flower? Is their absence

that women could only be liberated through full-time employment in socialist modes of production. Insofar as the revolution eliminated exploitation of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, discrimination against women would also disappear.

But as the events of the '30s and '40s revealed, political expediency—not a principled philosophical decision—was the primary motivation for the "active

themselves. For these women, CCP advocacy of free marriage and radical attacks on Confucian morality were extremely threatening.

But it would be inaccurate to conclude that the pre-1949 alliance between the CCP and the poor male peasants went unchallenged. Immediately after liberation, the CCP drafted a new marriage law. Within one year a nationwide campaign for implementation had reached even remote villages. The efficacy of this drive was shown first by the rapid increase in divorces and then by the resistance of local male cadres unsympathetic to any diminution in the traditional prerogatives of male household heads.

In the cities, labor insurance regulations drafted in 1950 gave women workers paid maternity leave, free health care and retirement benefits equal to their male

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 13-26, 1984 29
ically ill and indigent. Patrilocal marriage practices persisted, and norms for appropriate family behavior—especially between husband and wife and parents and children—remained essentially outside the arena of government reform.

In general, Andors, Stacey and Johnson agree. But on one issue—the significance of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution—Phyllis Andors offers an alternative viewpoint. For Stacey, the Great Leap was an "unmitigated disaster" and the Cultural Revolution worthy of only minimal recognition. For Johnson, the Great Leap was an "uncritical effort" totally in line with a view of history "that disparages the work of women."

The earlier Chinese revolutionary heroine was able and brave. More recent ones are emotionally or physically ill.

CHINA

The low tides of socialism



from the public media merely one more sign of a post-Mao retreat from egalitarian ideals?

The authors of these three books unambiguously refute such an explanation. Instead, they blame the original Maoist leadership. Surveying the history of Chinese Communist Party (CCP) policy and programs toward women from the '20s to the '80s, all agree that as early as 1940 the party leadership had subordinated issues of gender to those of class. Requests for a separate feminist agenda and autonomous political organizations for women were attacked as a bourgeois critique that only addressed the individualistic concerns of an elite.

Thus in 1942, when the writer Ding Ling asked the Party in Yan'an to "talk less of meaningless theory and more of the actual problems" women faced in their everyday lives, she was severely criticized. The Party denounced her ideas as "harmful to unity." It dismissed her demand for more attention to women's practical problems in the "liberated areas" as "outdated," since "full sex equality had been achieved." Shortly after Ding Ling published these views, she was relieved of all political responsibilities.

The officially sanctioned strategy was the orthodox wisdom

suppression" of the earlier feminist commitment to political and social equality.

The CCP achieved victory over the Japanese and the Chinese Nationalists by allying with poor peasant men—particularly unmarried men, who accepted the misogynist gender hierarchy of Confucianism and resented their own inability to establish families according to these traditional ideals. In order to secure these peasant men's loyalty to the Red Army and the cause of Communism, the CCP gave preference to men's demands over women's. Socialist patriarchy replaced traditional patriarchy, and the CCP lost opportunities for change that would "not easily come again."

But as Johnson convincingly argues, "female conservatism" also obstructed radical change in family relationships. A young bride sent to live in her in-laws' home with a husband she neither chose nor knew before marriage had only one strategy for survival—to give birth to as many sons as possible and raise them to show first loyalty to their elderly parents and especially to their mother, who had favored and nurtured them in childhood.

In this way generations of Chinese women, powerless to alter their fundamental subordination, created a secure place for

peers'. Urban girls entered primary school in numbers equal to urban boys, and female university graduates gained managerial positions commensurate with their professional training. Yet in theory and practice the CCP refused to acknowledge a separate reform agenda for women.

Kay Johnson explains this hardline position as the CCP's failure, or even refusal, to formulate radical reform of the family. For Johnson the fundamental source of oppression, and therefore the basic block to real sexual equality at work and in politics, was the persistent subordination of females within their own "male-centered family" of origin.

But in each year after the civil war, accommodation to the existing gender hierarchy, once a temporary strategy, became more and more permanent. Collectivization of agriculture kept the household as an essential unit of production. Even in the cities, where collectivization of work and welfare functions were far more complete, the household—not the individual—was the basic unit of consumption and saving.

During "high tides of socialism," wages in rural areas continued to go to the (male) family heads. In both urban and rural areas the family was responsible for the primary care of the chron-

The Cultural Revolution continued along the same ideological lines, denied gender as a significant category of political debate and reactivated the attack against feminism as "bourgeois."

In contrast, Andors sees the Great Leap as a radical mobilization "on the right track" and the Cultural Revolution as a movement that "created ideology and institutional opportunities for a potentially more favorable climate for women's progress." To support her positive assessments Andors cites the leadership's new willingness to publish essays that discussed sexual equality and the public's new awareness of the importance of radical social change for the mass mobilization of women.

Andors' optimism about the Great Leap and the Cultural Revolution is balanced by clear awareness of how gender hierarchy and female inequality persist in all facets of private and public life. So it would be inaccurate to contrast the views of Andors and those of Stacey and Johnson too sharply.

Unlike Stacey and Johnson, Andors is particularly interested in the "vanguard experience" of urban women. Indeed, in the history of Chinese women, the Communist revolution marks a major break from the Confucian

Continued on following page

Continued from preceding page

past, and the Great Leap is a turning point. Because of CCP ideological campaigns, education and labor policies, urban women have achieved significant economic and political autonomy outside their families.

In Chinese cities, parents do not raise daughters to "weed in another man's garden." Both before and after marriage, daughters retain close ties with their parents. On the average, females get less education and less technical training than males, but during the first eight to 10 years of employment women maintain parity with males. Throughout their adult lives they are expected to make a major financial contribution to their families.

Because urban women under age 50 have employment histories similar to their male counterparts, and because traditional marriage practices that severed ties between women and their parents have disappeared in Chinese cities, the subordination of daughters and wives is less obvious and less economically significant than in the villages. And since Andors bases her optimism on comparisons like these, she offers an important alternative to the pessimism of Stacey and Johnson.

But in the resistance to the one-child campaign, and particularly in the persistence of female infanticide, the strength of the old, pre-Communist values is obvious. After 30 years of structural economic reform, mothers and fathers still think they must have a son. Daughters

simply are not as good. The radically egalitarian and anti-patriarchal thrust of the Chinese Revolution is spent, and a ponderous state bureaucracy monopolizes the power to launch mass mobilizations.

Thus it is clear why the "easy" liberation of Gold Flower is no longer relevant. The official heroine can no longer be a rebellious girl who invokes the power of the army and the Party to create new political organizations. The contemporary exemplar must instead be an economically productive and politically responsible adult who works without complaint within the system. In such a setting, appeal to gender solidarities is divisive, and insistence on women's issues seems to represent the selfish and egoistic interests that official heroine Zhang Haidi has

committed herself to eliminate. Nonetheless, as all three books show, sexual equality in China is an ongoing concern that will not fade away.

Deborah Davis-Friedmann teaches at Yale University and is the author of Long Lives; Chinese Elderly and the Communist Revolution.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Kirby Mittelmeier**.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 15

Shlomo Avineri, noted Israeli professor and author of *The Social and Political Thought of Karl Marx*, will discuss "An Insider's View of the Political Debate in Israel"—what to look for in the upcoming elections. D.C.-Maryland DSA forum. 8:00 p.m., Machinists Building, 1200 Connecticut, NW. Donation \$3 (\$1 unemployed).

June 15

"Thirty Years of Bitter Fruit: The Social, Political and Economic Consequences of U.S. Intervention in Guatemala—June 1954-June 1984." A national conference sponsored by NISGUA, the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala. Call (202) 483-0050 for information. Write for brochure: 930 F St., Rm. 720, NW, Washington, DC 20004.

CHICAGO, IL

June 15

African Network launching event: "What's Happening in South Africa?" Speakers include: State Senator Richard Newhouse, Prof. Dennis Brutus. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams, Chicago, 7:30 p.m. June 16 (anniversary of Soweto massacre). For information: African Network, P.O. Box 59364, Chicago, IL 60659. (312) 677-7416. The film "Six Days in Soweto," will be shown.

June 21

The Organization in Solidarity with Guatemala is sponsoring a benefit showing of "When the Mountains Tremble," the first full-length documentary about Guatemala. Proceeds to be sent to Guatemalan refugees living in Chiapas, Mexico. Thursday at 6:30 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. Wine and cheese reception at 8:00 p.m. Facets Multimedia, 1517 W. Fullerton. Admission: \$10.00. For more information or reservations, call 281-2466; 561-2596.

MINNEAPOLIS, MN

June 25-July 1

Marxist Summer Institute, University of Minnesota. International lecturers; choice of program plus series on U.S. history by Herbert Aptheker. University credit available. \$80 employed, \$40 low income. Prompt registration necessary. Info from Marxist Educational Press, 215 Ford Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455; (612) 922-7993.

CONWAY, NH

June 30-July 5

World Fellowship presents Mel King and Bernie Sanders: "Election '84, Grassroots Participation and Coalition Building." Also: Film Festival "Films and Politics." Films include *The Good Fight*, *Seeing Red*, *With Babies and Banners*, *The Secret Agent*. Detailed brochure: World Fellowship, Conway, NH 03818. (603) 447-2280.

ISRAEL

August 4-19

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BERKELEY, CA

August 13-31

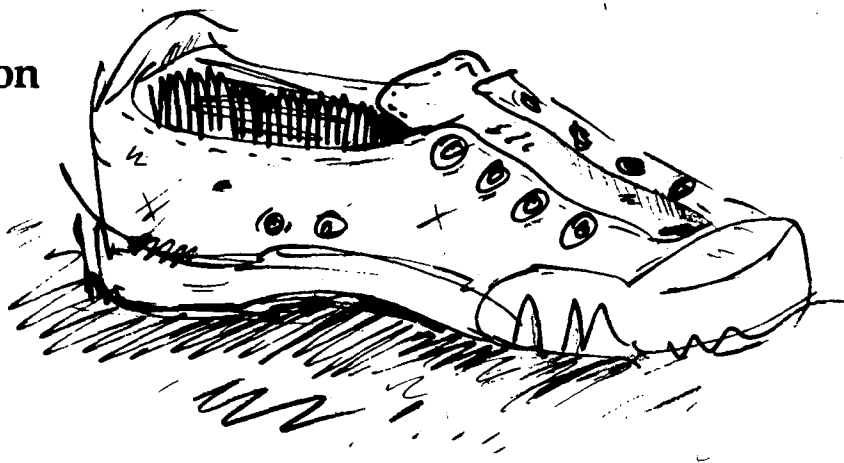
Art & Politics Workshop—New York/Berkeley. Wallflower Order combines feminist politics and dance that incorporates theatre, Kung Fu, sign language and humor. Participants create and perform their own work. Cost \$250-400 sliding scale; \$50 deposit required. P.O. Box 3545, Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Call (415) 644-0230 for more information.

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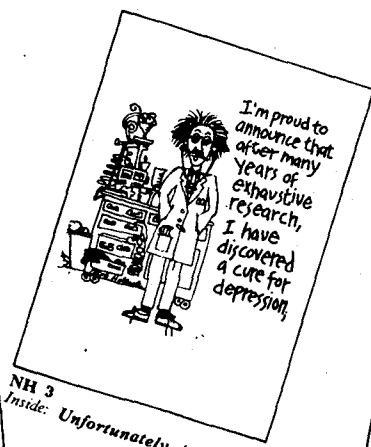
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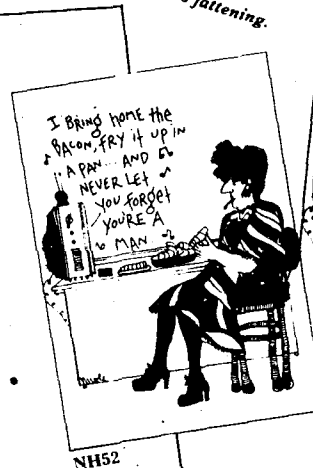
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Miskitos

Continued from page 32

North Americans and he took a cut. He left people alone."

We are picked up by one of the private ice boats that buy fish from the fishermen in the upper lagoon. The owner says he used to ship out to Miami. He lived in Chicago for three years and wants me to take a letter to his sister there. The pastor tells me that many coast people, primarily Creoles, live in the U.S. and often communicate with their families in Nicaragua.

The English language, spoken by all black people on the coast and by many Indians and Chinese merchants, is another powerful link between them and the U.S. "And don't forget," he says, "the Atlantic coast is also very much tied to the United States through the church."

A few weeks later I am sitting on the porch of the Moravian church in Puerto Cabezas, a Creole, Miskito and mestizo town.

The Moravian church is one of the most important institutions on the Atlantic coast. Among the Miskitos, no other institution approaches its power. Although the church is of German origin, its headquarters are now in Bethlehem, Pa. The Moravians are conservative evangelicals whose liturgy has changed very little over the years.

North American missionaries have shaped the minds of the coastal people. Nowadays most of the older North American missionaries have gone home, but Miskito and Creole lay pastors occur

py positions of power in every Miskito and Creole community. The Capuchin order of the Catholic church is also very powerful on the coast. Its original missionaries were French, but since the '30s they have been North Americans, and North American ideas have been very influential.

In the northern mining town of Rosita, I meet Father Agustin Sambola, the Capuchin priest whose parish includes the Miskito resettlement area of Tasba Pri. Agustin is a revolutionary from Grass Bank in the lagoon above Bluefields and the only black priest in Nicaragua. As we drive in his jeep along the dirt road to the Miskito community of Sahsa, he explains the mentality of many coastal people. "Historically speaking, the churches taught meekness, humility, an acceptance of the earthly lot while waiting for the heavenly one. Hand in hand with this meekness went low expectations, deference to white North Americans and the expectation of being taken care of—by white North Americans."

We are traveling through bush country now. Agustin points out the place where *contras* ambushed him five weeks before. He is a powerful ally of the forces for change on the coast, and counterrevolutionaries have placed him high on their "hit list."

I ask him to explain why so many Miskitos have not accepted the revolution. "It has a lot to do with their education by the Moravian church. The educational system for the Miskitos was built around the idea of nation within a nation. Their loyalty was to this 'Miskito nation.' The idea of being part of Nicaragua meant nothing to the Miskitos. Nicaragua has neglected them."

The militia stops us for a brief inspection before we continue on to Sahsa, one of the earlier settlements of Tasba Pri.

Agustin goes from house to house, greeting his parishioners, introducing me to the storytellers. Later, he says that the young revolutionaries from the Pacific didn't understand the coastal people. "They thought we were backward. They didn't understand the richness of our culture. And since they were mestizo and many of us are black and Indian, there was some racism too."

The next day we celebrate the second anniversary of Tasba Pri. The *commandantes* have come from Managua to talk with the people. Many Miskitos are participating in the celebration, but others hang back. In a way this event symbolizes what is happening on the Atlantic coast. New structures are in place, and opportunities are available. Some go with the revolution, but others hang back and resist. I ask Agustin about the future of the Atlantic coast.

"Ultimately, it's a problem of adjusting to a new ideology. Little by little the leaders are floating up who can deal with the new situation. It's difficult to change the mind of a whole people, but I am optimistic. Our young people are going to schools in Managua and in foreign countries. When they come back they will see the world differently. Economic programs are integrating the coast with the rest of Nicaragua. Medical programs teach community responsibility. Cultural programs rediscover what had been lost during the Somoza years. And the hierarchy of the Moravian church is playing a new, positive role, too."

On my last night in Nicaragua I'm sitting in the Moravian church in Managua. Moravian Bishop John Wilson is here. So is Ernesto Scott, a Miskito who works for

the Sandinistas in Managua, and a third man, a Miskito pastor who has just gotten out of prison, where he served a year and a half for counterrevolutionary activities. It seems miraculous that we can all sit in the same room and talk about the renaissance of the coastal cultures. Bishop John, the son of a Miskito mother and a Creole father, wants to see his people flourish in the revolutionary society.

"I believe the government here in Managua has many excellent projects for our people on the Atlantic coast. The problem is this war, which prevents the projects from being accomplished."

Why does the bishop think the war is happening? He looks at me thoughtfully. "The government in Washington is making war against us because they are afraid of change. This fear is causing terrible damage."

Harriet Rohmer publishes multicultural books for young people. She recently returned from a month of travel on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua, where she collected traditional stories and oral histories of the Miskito, Sumu, Rama, Creole, Garifuna and mestizo peoples.

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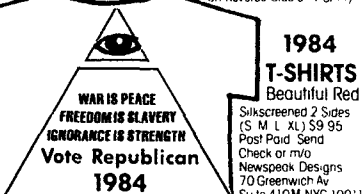
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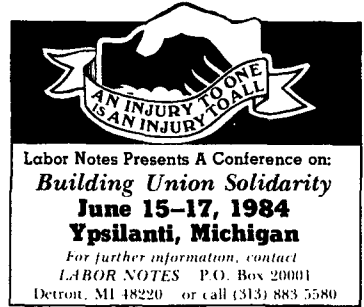
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"I have no trouble with Uncle Sam"

Miskitos tell why they don't like the Sandinistas

BY HARRIET ROHMER

IT IS LATE AT NIGHT IN BLUEFIELDS on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua. William Barth, a 45-year-old Miskito Indian from the Rio Coco, is telling me the traditional stories of his people. They are powerful, often violent tales of tigers and devils, of women who guard the secrets of life beyond death and of men who win unbelievable fortunes. William's own life story, however, is a grim lesson in the reality of the Atlantic Coast during the Somoza era.

"When I was six," he says, "Mama was too poor to keep me, so I went to work on the North American banana boats. At 12 I was scrubbing the decks of North American fishing boats. I hired on at Bonanza gold mine, another North American company, when I was 16. They fired me at 18 when I got tuberculosis."

William speaks without bitterness. He is even smiling. "I was a flunky," he explains.

"But you're not a flunky now," I say. "The North American companies are gone from the coast."

William looks around the yard of the parish house where we are sitting. We are alone. He nevertheless asks me to turn off the tape recorder and lowers his voice. "The truth is things were better before the revolution. We were poor but we had peace. Now there is war. We have lost our homeland on the Rio Coco. The Miskito people are divided. Some are in Nicaragua, others are in Honduras. Brother fights against brother. We are suffering."

"William," I say, "who is responsible for this war?"

Almost in a whisper he answers me. "It is all the fault of the government in Managua."

I then tell him about the millions of dollars the U.S. has poured into this war, and how it would likely stop if the North American government withdrew its support. William only shakes his head. "I have no trouble with Uncle Sam," he answers.

We plan another storytelling session for the next night. I return to my hotel, puzzled about William's way of looking at the world. He knows he was exploited by the North Americans, and yet he wants them back. He knows that the government in Managua has brought the literacy campaign and health care to his

people, but he accuses it of waging war against the Miskitos.

As I continue my story-gathering mission on the Atlantic coast, I encounter others who believe what William does. Not only Miskitos think this way. Some Sumus, Ramas, Garifunas and Creoles speak against the revolution and would like things to be as they were before.

Why?

A few days later I head north from Bluefields in a motorized dory. This is black, English-speaking country. I am accompanied by a progressive Moravian pastor and a Creole Sandinista from the popular-culture center in Bluefields who is assisting in the story gathering. We pass a fleet of fishing boats moored and rusted on the north side of the lagoon beside what looks like a ghost town.

"That was the largest fishery in Nicaragua," says the pastor. "When the North Americans left, we couldn't run it. We couldn't get the parts."

I am amazed that such a large facility is now useless. The pastor explains that it was never meant to be useful to Nicaragua, only to the North Americans. "You might say we were part of the U.S. orbit." For more than 100 years the Atlantic coast has been an extension of the U.S. economy.

"The mines, the timber companies, the fisheries, the banana companies were all run for the benefit of the North Americans. No development was going to benefit the coast. Our resources were taken away and our people were pulled into the cash economy. After a while people had to work for the North American companies so they could buy North American goods in the stores. After the revolution, when the North Americans left, many coast people had the sense that they had taken the economy with them. They couldn't imagine an economy that really worked for them."

As we talk the American-made motor on our dory cuts out, and we row to the side of the lagoon to wait to be towed. It happens all the time. The pastor wonders if I can send a replacement part from the U.S. "When people here say they want the old government back," he says, "you have to realize that Somoza didn't terrorize us the way he did the people in the Pacific. He just gave our resources to the



Mel Rosenthal